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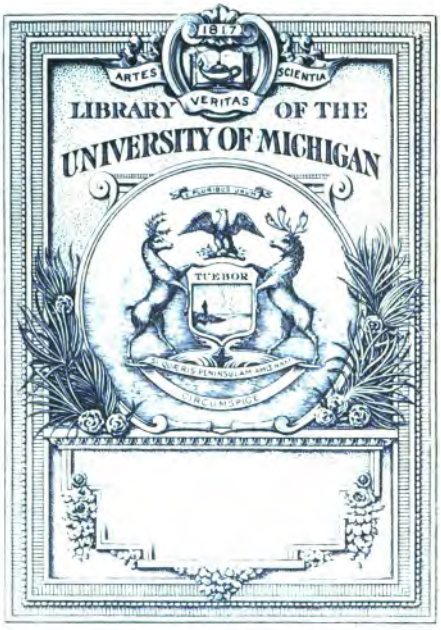

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1804

William Tell compelled to shoot at an apple on the Head of his Son.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XVIII.

OR VOL. IX. OF THE MODERN PART.

NEW-YORK:

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SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1804.

THE

HISTORY

OF

HUNGARY, HOLLAND,

AND

SWITZERLAND.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES,

AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &c. &c.

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MODERN HISTORY.

ELECTORATE OF BRANDENBURG.

THIS electorate, though deprived of its first rank by the emperor Charles the Fourth, is still one of the most considerable in the empire. Its possessions consist of the marquisate of Brandenburg, the dutchy of Cleves, the counties of Mark and Ravensberg, the dukedom of Prussia, erected into a kingdom in the beginning of the last century; the dutchy of Magdeburg; the principalities of Halberstadt, Minden, and Farther Pomerania; with the province of Silesia. Of Brandenburg, the electors have been possessed from the earliest period, and it is from the capital of that name they derive their title. The city is rich and populous, and was formerly the theatre of the idolatry of the Vandals, where they sacrificed to two superior divinities. Berlin is at present, however, esteemed the capital. The elector also enjoys the dutchy of Cleves, and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg.

In all these territories, which extend more than three hundred leagues, almost the whole breadth of Germany, justice is administered according to the custom of each country. Appeals are directed to the sovereign prince, whose judgment is final. The Protestant religion is the most prevalent; but the Roman catholicks

freely enjoy their own rites. The elector, as arch-chamberlain of the empire, carries the sceptre, at the emperor's coronation, and when he holds a court. He has also the first prayers in the chapters, and has the power of imposing new taxes, and establishing old ones at his pleasure. Besides having five voices in the college of princes, and several in that of counts, he has the reversion of the dutchy of Mecklenburg.

The Suevi, the original inhabitants, were expelled alternately by the Vandals, the Henetes, the Saxons, and the Franks, who were with difficulty subdued by Charlemagne. At last the emperor, Henry the Fowler, established margraves or governors of provinces to rule the barbarous inhabitants, who were perpetually inclined to revolt.

The margraviate of Brandenburg has been vested in no less than eight different families, to which that of Hohenzollern succeeded, and continues to this day. The early history of this family is hid in the darkness of antiquity.

A. D. 1400. Frederick the First, elector of the house of Hohenzollern, made a division of his estates by will; by which he deprived his eldest son, surnamed the Alchemist, of every thing but the Voightland and his crucible, leaving the electorate to his second son Frederick.

His successor Frederick, surnamed Iron-tooth and the magnanimous, because he refused the crown of Poland until it had been rejected by the late king's brother, resigned the electorate in favour of his brother Albert, reserving only a pension of six thousand florins, upon which he lived as a philosopher, until his death in

1471. Albert's title of burgraviate being disputed, he seized the city of Greiffenberg, as Alexander did that of Oxidrace, leaping from the top of the walls alone into the city, where he defended himself until his troops forced the gates and came to his assistance. He also carried away the prizes at seventeen tournaments.

John, the next elector, received the surname of Cicero, from his natural eloquence, having reconciled three kings who were disputing the succession of Silesia. His oratory was, however, on this occasion, enforced by a body of six thousand horse. He founded the university of Frankfort, upon the Oder.

The reign of Joachim the Second was quiet and peaceable: the manners of the country began at this period to be a little more refined, yet not without a mixture of disguised barbarism, mistaken for magnificence, and a formal ceremony instead of real politeness. It is said of this elector, that on his bridal night he went to bed to his young spouse with all his armour on. A. D. 1535.

Joachim Frederick was the first prince who established a council of state; and, feeling the importance of providing for the education of youth, he founded the college of Joachimthal, for the education and maintenance of one hundred and twenty students. This college was afterwards transferred to Berlin. The poverty of the country, and want of money, compelled this elector to enact sumptuary laws.

During the unhappy government of George William, who succeeded his father, the electorate suffered the most miserable calamities, being desolated by the war A. D. 1619.

of thirty years, the devastations of which are not entirely repaired, and having at its head a prince incapable of governing, with a traitor for his minister, besides the armies of friends and enemies, who harassed the whole country, at the same time suffering under a contagious and malignant distemper, which destroyed the poor remains of their fury. Indeed, the exactions of the soldiers, and the plunder of the officers, formed at this time the chief art of war.

A. D. 1640. Frederick William, the grand elector, succeeded to a desolate country in the hands of his enemies, allies that could not be depended upon, few troops, and almost no resources. His education, however, was that of a hero, and by his firmness and wisdom he at last restored prosperity and peace to his bleeding kingdom. He courted the friendship of Cromwell, endeavoured to make an alliance with Louis the Fourteenth, and even flattered the pride of Ferdinand the Third. He raised the walls of his cities which had been destroyed, encouraged the cultivation of the country, and the peopling of villages. But all his efforts could not entirely preserve him from war. On Louis the Fourteenth's invading Holland, he joined the imperial forces under Montecuculi, and during the course of the campaign, had a signal occasion of testifying his generosity. A Frenchman, named Villeneuve, in Turenne's camp, offered the elector to assassinate his general. Far from listening to his proposal, he informed Turenne, that he might guard against his villainy. In the ensuing campaign he concluded a treaty of peace with France. The last years of Frederick William were tranquil.

His great genius manifested itself in all the transactions of his life, being equally admirable at the head of his armies, where he appeared as the deliverer of his country, and at the head of his council, when he administered justice to his people. He was not only esteemed in Europe, but his friendship was courted by the eastern nations, having received an ambassador from Murad Geray, cham of the Tartars.

The French Protestants, who were compelled to leave that kingdom, by Louis the Fourteenth's imprudent revocation of the edict of Nantz, to the number of twenty thousand, established themselves in the states of the elector, and introduced many invaluable arts and manufactures. A. D 1684.

This great prince died on the 28th of April, 1688. Two days before his end, he assembled his council, and having assisted at their deliberations, he thanked his ministers for their faithful services, and exhorted them to serve his son with the same attachment. Addressing himself to the electoral prince, he explained the duties of his situation, and represented the state in which he left his affairs: he strongly recommended him to assist the prince of Orange in the expedition then preparing for England, and insisted above all upon his loving and protecting the people he was about to govern. Frederick William had all the characteristicks of a great man, which fortune gave him a great opportunity of displaying; from his early youth he gave abundant proofs of his prudence and wisdom, and his whole life evinced him a great politician, and a humane and good prince.

Frederick the Third, and first king of Prussia,

had no sooner come to the government than he joined the grand alliance against France. Although he had no direct interest in these wars, yet being naturally fond of pomp and show, and his ambition being awakened by the new acquisitions of the prince of Orange, and the duke of Hanover, he put every stratagem in motion to court the favour of the emperor, that he might succeed in a plan of aggrandizement which he had formed for himself. He founded the university of Halle, for which he provided able professors, and built several fine sluices upon the river Salle, in order to make it more navigable. He also received at Berlin the Muscovite ambassador, who had in his train the czar Peter Alexiowitz, who had left his own kingdom with the noble design of instructing himself in order to civilize his people.

A. D. 1700. All the efforts of France to detach him from the alliance with king William, on occasion of the war about the Spanish succession, were ineffectual. To this he was, perhaps, considerably prompted by his ambition, as the emperor, by the treaty of alliance concluded at Vienna, engaged to acknowledge him as king of Prussia, on condition of his furnishing ten thousand men at his own expense during the war, with some other provisions. Upon this he repaired to Prussia, and established the royal academy of sciences at Berlin, of which Leibnitz was the chief.

A. D. 1704. After the brilliant campaign, by which the duke of Marlborough delivered the empire from the French, that great general waited upon Frederick at Berlin, where he easily penetrated into his character. He was

full of submission and complaisance to the king, artfully flattered his vanity, and was so officious as to present him with the ewer when he rose from table. Frederick could not resist him, and granted to the flatteries of the courtier what he would, perhaps, have refused to the victorious general. The fruit of this negociation was a reinforcement of eight thousand men.

Frederick died in the beginning of the year 1713. His person was little and deformed, with an air of haughtiness; he had a very common aspect; his soul was flexible to every impression, and those who had once gained an ascendency over him, had the power of animating or calming his spirit. Being more attached to the splendour which dazzles than to what is useful, he confounded vain show with true grandeur. The new colonies arrived at a flourishing state, and enriched their protector. His court was numerous and brilliant, and abounded in money from foreign subsidies. Luxury was visible in every thing. He had two of the best architects in Europe in his service, and a sculptor not inferior to either. The academy of painters was also founded, and an academy for the education of young people of rank, which unfortunately did not long continue.

As the dominions of Brandenburg continue united to the kingdom of Prussia, the subsequent history will more properly come under that head.

ARCHDUTCHY OF AUSTRIA.

THE hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, in Russia, consist of the archdutchy, the dutchies of Carinthia, Stiria, Carniola, the counties of Hapsburg, Tyrol, Kyburg, and Goritia, the Brisgau, and other principalities.

Austria is one of the principal provinces of the empire towards the east, from which situation it derives its name ; Oostryck, in German, signifying the *Eastern country*. Its boundaries are on the north by Moravia, on the east by Hungary, on the south by Stiria, and on the west by Bavaria. It is divided into Upper and Lower, the latter being situated on the north side of the Danube, the other on the south. The country is fertile, and abounds with mines, especially of sulphur.

A. D. 928. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Austria was the frontier of the empire against the incursions of Barbarians, and especially of the Hungarians. The emperor Henry the Fowler, feeling the importance of preventing the repetition of such irruptions, invested Leopold, of the House of Suabia, with the whole country. Otho I. erected it into a marquisate, and Frederick Barbarossa created the dukedom.

The present House of Austria are descended from the emperor Rodolphus the First, and from that time have laid aside the title of Hapsburg, and taken that of Austria.

To render Austria the most considerable principality of Germany, the emperor Frederick the Pacifick created the archdutchy for his son Maximilian, on whom he bestowed several most extensive privileges, declaring that the archdukes shall be judged to have obtained the investiture of their states, if they do not receive it after three demands; that if they receive it from the emperor, or the imperial ambassador, they are to be on horseback, clad in a royal mantle, having in their hand a staff of command, and upon their head a ducal crown of two points, surmounted with a cross, like that of the imperial crown. The archduke is born privy-counsellor of the emperor, and his states cannot be put to the ban of the empire. All attempts against his person are punished as crimes of liege majesty, in the same manner as those against the kings of the Romans or Electors. He is exempt from all challenges to single combat. He can assist at the assemblies, or be absent, and is exempt from all contributions and publick taxes. He ranks immediately after the electors, and exercises justice in his states without appeal; and his servants cannot be summoned out of his province, to give evidence in lawsuits or to receive the investiture of fiefs. Any lands, even feudal, may be alienated in his favour, and he has the right of creating nobles and lower degrees. In succession to his estates, the right of birth takes place, and in failure of males, the female succeeds according to their lineal right, and in case of a total failure, he may dispose of the territory to whom he pleases. A. D 1477.

A. D. 1556. Ferdinand the First, second son of Philip, king of Spain, is the chief of the branch of the present House of Austria, in Germany. His brother, Charles the Vth, resigned to him in 1550 all his hereditary possessions, caused him to be elected king of the Romans in the following year, and finally quitted the empire in his favour in 1556. Maximilian, eldest son and successor of Ferdinand, left six surviving sons, the eldest of whom, Rodolphus, succeeded his grandfather and father in the empire; and after a weak reign of thirty-five years, left his hereditary possessions to his brother Matthias, who was elected emperor. Upon his death the hereditary dominions fell to Ferdinand the Second, grandson of the emperor Ferdinand the First. He was adopted by Matthias, who caused him to be elected king of Bohemia and king of Hungary, and upon his death to be created emperor.

A. D. 1637. Ferdinand the Third, his eldest son, succeeded as well to the empire as to the hereditary dominions. Upon his death, his son Leopold was elected emperor, though only eighteen years of age.

Joseph, son of Leopold by his third wife, was declared hereditary king of Hungary in 1687, being then but nine years of age; he was chosen king of the Romans three years afterwards, and succeeded to the empire upon the death of his father.

A. D. 1711. Charles the Sixth was chosen emperor at Frankfort, his brother having died without issue. Charles left two children, the elder of whom was Maria Theresa Walbourg

Amelia Christina, who succeeded upon his death to all the hereditary dominions. To these she was entitled by virtue of the Pragmatick Sanction, which had been guaranteed by all the European powers; but as prince Eugene judiciously remarked, "a hundred thousand men would have "guaranteed it better than a hundred thousand "treaties." Augustus the Third, king of Poland, and elector, upon the death of Charles, laid claim to the whole Austrian succession, by virtue of his marriage with the eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, brother of Charles the Sixth. Maria Theresa, however, took quiet possession of her vast inheritance, and received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna: but she could not prevent Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, from being raised to the imperial throne. The wars which followed, are detailed under the empire.

Upon the death of Charles the Seventh, Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, was declared emperor; and that dignity, as well as the Austrian dominions, have descended lineally in the same branch to this time.

DUTCHY OF MECKLENBURG.

AUTHORS are very much divided with regard to the extent of this dutchy. By the best computation it is from 24 to 30 leagues in length, with a breadth of 9, 10, and 18. As to its produce, the inhabitants themselves differ; but the unfavourable representations of its fertility are justly to be suspected, being calculated merely to move the commiseration of the imperial court in the dispute between the duke and his subjects, by placing their circumstances in the most disadvantageous light. Great part of the country, though taken up with unprofitable lakes and sandy ground, is upon the whole fertile, particularly in corn. Its situation has, however, rendered it often the seat of war, the greatest plague that can befal a country, in consequence of which it is not well cultivated. It is well interspersed with hills, dales, woods, lakes, and rivers, which furnish excellent game, fish, and cattle, for exportation. The whole dutchy, in the year 1730, raised to its owners annually about a million sterling.

About a century and a half ago, a bold project was formed for making a navigable canal to run south from Weimar to the lake of Schwerin, so as to open a navigation between the North Sea and the Baltick, and to avoid the passage of the Sound; but this project, which must have been so detrimental to Denmark and other

powers, was soon discontinued. The total neglect of commerce is one of the most unfortunate attendants of this dutchy; for though it might have three separate harbours in the Baltick, it has but one. It contains forty-five cities and towns, three convents, and nine hundred and ninety-four manors, the peasants of which are in a state of old English villenage, their persons being transferable with the land. The interest of the sovereigns of Mecklenburg has been greatly reduced since the year 1628, at which time they possessed one thousand farms, their whole nobility no more than seven hundred and twenty-seven, and the convents seven hundred and sixty-eight. Each of the three capitals of Parchim, Gustrou, and New Brandenburgh, convokes the towns of its circle, and its magistrates precede in all publick assemblies. By a convention entered into with his nobility, on the 18th April, 1785, Christian Lewis was authorized to measure the whole territory into hufs, one half of which, on performing the several services reserved by feudal and allodial patents, should be exempt from all contributions, but the other half to remain subject to them, and agreeably thereto, to pay the annual assessment.

The business of the diets, which are summoned by the duke, is to fix the annual contributions; to issue directions respecting the distribution of the taxes, and the portions of the princesses; and to remedy grievances. When they meet, their proposals are sent to the nobility and the states, who return an answer, either objecting or approving, and nothing is enacted in prejudice of their rights. On the death of one of the counsellors, the duke names the suc-

cessor out of a list of three, presented to him by the nobility and states of the circle where the vacancy happens. The lesser committee of the nobility and states is, by a royal edict, invested with the rights of a college, representative of the whole body of the nobility and commons, and the choice of the members is left to their free will. The meetings of the nobility are under no restrictions, but any other assembly must be convened by writ from the crown.

Lutheranism is the prevailing religion, yet there are many Calvanists and Roman catholicks: most of the towns have grammar schools, and in Rostock is an university. The exports of the dutchy consist in corn, flax, hemp, hops, wax, honey, cattle, butter, cheese, wool, and several kinds of wood; but their manufactures in the most necessary articles are insufficient for the supply of the inhabitants.

The duke of Mecklenburg, in right of the two dutchies of Schwerin and Gustrou, has two votes among the princes in the diet of the empire, and in the circle of Lower Saxony. His assessment in the matricula of the empire, is forty horse, sixty-seven foot, seven hundred and forty-eight florins to a Roman month; but upon the dismemberment of the towns of Wismar, and the bailiwicks of Poll and Neukaster, an abatement was made, which was to be supplied by the Swedes.

The privy-council of the regency is the supreme college, but a demesne chamber manages the revenue. Appeals lie from the law courts to the high and provincial court of justice, which holds its session four times a year, and the no-

bility and states have a share in its administration.

The income of this dutchy cannot be estimated at less than 190,000 pounds sterling a year, from the Schwerin branch. Extraordinary charges are defrayed by imposts, to which the princes demesnes, and the states of the nobility and clergy, contribute each one third. The revenue of the Strelitz line is about 126,000 rix dollars. The duke defrays the expense of the military establishment out of the annual contributions; and, except in urgent cases, the nobility and states are exempt from furnishing magazines, or summoning their vassals to assist in warlike preparations.

Schwerin was the residence of the dukes of that line, and is situated on a fine lake, on an island, in which is the duke's palace. Its situation, garden, and paintings, are very fine. Along the Baltick coast, in the bailiwick of Dobberen, runs the celebrated Heiligin dam, being a natural wall of stones of most beautiful imagery and colours.

Gustrou, the capital of the Wenden circle, is one of the largest and most pleasant towns in the whole country, as also the seat of the chief courts of judicature, and a superintendency. In Rostock is St. Mary's church, in which are entombed the remains of the celebrated Grotius, who died in 1645. This town is also the present residence of the dukes, and carries on a large trade.

The circle of Stargard consists of the ancient lordship of Stargard, and was the subject of the long and destructive contests between the

princes of Mecklenburg and the Margraves of Brandenburg.

The situation of Mecklenburg is particularly unhappy in all contests which happen between the Germans and the Swedes. It became during the war between Prussia and Sweden, the theatre of the most dismal calamities. The duke had seen in his own family a melancholy example of disobedience to the head of the empire, and therefore could not be brought to take part against Austria. The Swedes, therefore, treated his country as an enemy's, and the king of Prussia used a severity which can be scarcely justified by the laws of war. He not only laid all Mecklenburg under the most heavy contributions, but obliged the duke's subjects to enlist in his armies, and to subsist his troops while they themselves were starving for bread. A representation of these miseries came to the hands of his Prussian majesty, so feelingly and pathetically drawn, that it is said to have greatly contributed to raise the authoress, the present queen of England, to her present elevated station.

The early history of this country is so very remote, that it is impossible, considering the extreme ignorance of the age, to place any reliance upon it. The present dutchy of Mecklenburg was formerly part of the extensive kingdom of Vandalia, inhabited by the Aboriti, or Vandals, who effected the destruction of the Roman empire, and were afterwards themselves conquered by Charlemagne.

A. D. 1349. The first dukes of Mecklenburg were Albert and John, of Stargard, created by the emperor Charles the IVth, as

well for their personal merit as their great power. They and their successors were engaged in perpetual wars with the Swedes and Danes, which only tended to impoverish a country, to which peace was peculiarly necessary. In the wars of Gustavus Adolphus against the empire, they were his allies, which ultimately proved very destructive; nor was tranquillity restored to the bleeding country until the accession of duke Adolphus, and the treaty of Westphalia.

Upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the succession was contested by the dukes of the Mecklenburg and Strelitz family, the latter claiming from the proximity of blood, the former by priority of descent. The question, by the interference of the emperor, was settled by a legal adjudication in favour of the duke of Schwerin; but the decision, impartial as it was, not being satisfactory, the country was once more desolated for four or five years. An arbitration was at last entered upon, which concluded in a division of the territory, and the lines of Strelitz and Schwerin.

When Charles the Twelfth undertook to dethrone the king of Poland, Mecklenburg again became the seat of war, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the duke to preserve neutrality.

Christian Lewis succeeded his brother Charles Leopold, in 1747. This prince new-modelled the constitution of his states, and dying in 1756, was succeeded by his son duke Frederick, whose mother was Gustava, one of the princesses of Strelitz. He was followed by his son, Lewis Frederick William, the brother of the present queen of England. A. D. 1747.

The northern situation of Mecklenburg has happily exempted it from the destructive events which have fallen upon those German states whose territories joined the revolutionized and convulsed kingdom of France; to which alone, perhaps, the duke owes the preservation of great part of his territories.

HISTORY OF BOHEMIA.

CHAP. I.

BOHEMIA was originally included in Germany, and had its name from the *Boii*, a people of ancient Gaul, who settled in it about five hundred and ninety years before the Christian æra. They being expelled by the Marcomanni, seized on Bavaria, while the Marcomanni were in their turn displaced by the Bohemi, a tribe of Sclavonians, who still possess it. It is bounded on the north by Saxony and Brandenburg, on the east by Poland and Hungary, on the south by Austria and Bavaria, and by the palatinate of Bavaria on the west; is three hundred miles long, and two hundred and fifty broad; and comprehends, 1. Bohemia, mostly subject to Austria; 2. Silesia, mostly subject to Prussia; 3. Moravia, entirely subject to Austria. The principal towns of Bohemia are, Pilson, Egra, Koningscratz, and Tabor; of Silesia, Breslaw; and of Moravia, Olmutz, Brin, and Znaim. The metropolis of Bohemia, however, is Prague, in the centre of the kingdom; it is pleasantly situated, and very strongly fortified; and is of such extent, that in the war of 1756, the grand Prussian army could not completely invest it. But its inhabitants, usually reckoned at eighty-three thousand, are disproportioned to its bulk. Its university, at the time John Huss was rector, is said to have had

forty thousand students, but of later years they have scarcely ever exceeded five thousand. Prague is divided into the old, the new, and the little city; and has been very famous for its sieges.

The air of Bohemia is reckoned less wholesome than the air of Germany; but its soil is fruitful, and has many rich mines of different metals. Wood is very plentiful, and the inhabitants have as much corn as answers their own consumption. The country is almost surrounded with mountains; but few of them are noted: and its principal river is the Elbe, which takes its rise in Germany, and runs through the middle of Bohemia. About two centuries ago Bohemia was more populous than at present, almost by a third. It then contained about three millions of inhabitants.

The customs and diversions of Bohemia are much like those of Germany, and the people have a similar character with the Germans for eating and drinking. Formerly, however, they were remarkable for valour; and at the period of the reformation, made a vigorous stand against the papacy. But their spirit both for arts and arms has long been broken. The established religion is the Roman catholick; though Protestantism meets with toleration; and the Moravians, who profess a mongrel religion between Protestantism and Popery, are pretty numerous.

The proper language of Bohemia is a dialect of the Sclavonick; but the German or High Dutch is most generally spoken.

For a long time it remained a separate kingdom, and the nobility used to elect their own princes; till at last it fell under the dominion of

the house of Austria, whence it is sometimes ranked in Germany.

At first the Bohemians were governed by dukes; but the emperor Otho the First conquered the duke of Bohemia, and reduced the province under the empire. Afterwards Henry the Fifth gave the title of king to Ladislaus, duke of Bohemia; and since that time these kings have been electors, and chief cup-bearers of the empire, and the kingdom has been elective. A. D. 1096.

Formerly the kings received their dominion as a fief of the empire, and the ceremony was performed on the Frontiers; after which the standards of the principalities of which it is composed, were delivered to them without being torn, and given to the people, as is done with the ensigns of the other fiefs of the empire.

Ferdinand the First of Austria having married Anne, sister of Louis, last king of Bohemia, who died without issue, and being elected king, the kingdom has remained ever since in his family. The crown, however, is still conferred with an appearance of election, notwithstanding by the treaty of Westphalia it is declared hereditary in the House of Austria.

The states of Bohemia have never been comprehended in the government, or in the circles of the empire; they are not subject to any of its jurisdictions, nor to the Roman months, taxes, or publick contributions; and they owe nothing to the empire but what the emperor Leopold voluntarily imposed upon himself, amounting to six thousand livres a year from the imperial chamber. Bohemia was divided by the emperor Charles the Fourth, into twelve provinces, in

each of which he ordered two captains should be appointed every year for the administration of government; and also erected the church of Prague into an archbishoprick, endowing it with the prerogative of crowning the kings of Bohemia, which had before belonged to the archbishoprick of Mentz.

The government of Bohemia is different from that of all other states, the affairs of the kingdom being managed in six different courts. First, the council of the regency: secondly, the council or superior chamber of justice: thirdly, the chamber of fiefs: fourthly, the tribunal for judging the appeals of the German vassals, in their differences upon account of fiefs: fifthly, the royal chamber of finance: and lastly, the chancery.

The first whom history mentions as the ruler or chief of the Bohemians, was one Czech, who
A. D. having committed a murder of some no-
550. toriety in Croatia, quitted the country with his family and dependants, and went towards Moravia, in search of a new settlement. From the Moravians, he learnt there was a country surrounded by the Hereynian forest, not very distant, and but thinly inhabited. Czech, therefore, quitted Moravia, and entered Bohemia, which he found wholly covered with wood, and possessed rather by wild herds of cattle than by men. Czech here settled his small colony, and instructed the inhabitants in the cultivation of their lands; but having sent his brother Leches to settle in Poland, he died and left Bohemia without a ruler. In this condition the Bohemians remained for some time; but as they were now collected in villages, injury and oppression

was not so easily combated as during their ancient pastoral life: they therefore chose a young man, of the name of Croa, whose prudent conduct had rendered him remarkable, for their governor, under whom the authority of the laws was supported. He was succeeded by the youngest of his three daughters, Lybussa, who was noted for her skill in divination. Having governed the country alone for fourteen years, her subjects pressed her to marry, when she chose a country labourer, named Premislaus; who, being called to the dignity of governor from the plough, carried his shoes along with him, as memorials for his posterity, to prevent their being elated with the prosperity of their condition. Premislaus founded Prague: and though upon the death of his queen he had an insurrection of women to quell, may upon the whole be said to have reigned peaceably till his death. When dying, he ordered his cloak and shoes to be deposited in a religious place, only to be shown at the election of a governor; a custom which has been solemnly observed, not only by the pagan but the christian princes of Bohemia.

Nezamislius succeeded his father by the universal consent of the people: having reigned twenty years, he was succeeded by his son Mnatha, who neglected the government, and for the first three years of his reign devoted himself entirely to the pleasures of the chase. A citizen of Versovicum, to whom the prince had given the care of the government, seeing his master indolent, proposed himself to the people as their governor, but failing in the attempt, was put to death; A. D. 715.

and Mnatha died soon after of a contagious distemper. Vogenus, his son, succeeded him. Vogenus, after reigning twenty-eight years, left the government to his eldest son Wenceslaus, and Lusatia to his youngest, Wratislaus. These brothers lived in great unanimity, and gave assistance to each other against Charlemagne, who then attacked the Saxons, Veneds, and Bohemians. Wenceslaus was succeeded by his son Crevomyslius, who, after reigning nineteen years, left the government to his son Neclan, who being of a fearful and cowardly disposition, was attacked by his cousin Utislaus, from Lusace. Neclan's government was weak, and distinguished by little else than continual rebellion; he died, however, possessed of it, and was succeeded by his son Hostivitius, whose brother Mysliboglus rebelled against him, because a moiety of dominion had not fallen to his share. An arbitration was at last agreed to, and the province of Gurimum was ceded to Mysliboglus for life. Hostivitius was soon after disturbed by another insurrection, under the guidance of Succaslaus, governor of Belina; but he being defeated and taken, his feet and hands were cut off, and he himself thrown into the river Egra. Mysliboglus now made two successful incursions into Moravia; but dying soon after, a peace was concluded between the king of Moravia and Hostivitius.

A. D. 735.

A. D. 763.

A. D. 839.

Bonivorius succeeded his father, and early in his reign, going into Moravia to renew the alliance of the Bohemians, was converted to christianity; and with his wife Ludvilla, and many of his retinue, bap-

A. D. 856.

fined. The Bohemians, on his return, despised him, upon which he chose a voluntary exile in Moravia. In his absence, rapine and distraction prevailed in his dominions: the states recalled Stoymirus, a brother of the governor of Bilina, who had been banished to Bavaria thirteen years before; but he having forgot his native language, they soon grew tired of him, and sent him back into Bavaria with some presents. Assembling again in the fields, near Prague, to choose another prince, the favourers of Borivorius came secretly armed, and, after a warm dispute, obliged the other party to consent to the recalling of their exiled prince. Borivorius returning to his dignity, after an absence of ten years, brought with him Methudius, who converted many to the christian faith. Several churches were built, and schools erected; but the Bohemians objecting to the performing of the service in the Latin tongue, a language which they did not understand, Methudius represented this objection to Pope Nicholas the Great, who allowed the prayers to be said in the vulgar tongue. But some years after, a bishop being sent into Bohemia, the Latin tongue was again ordered to be introduced in all their churches. Borivorius having abdicated the government, his son Spilignens succeeded him; but he dying in two years, his father prevailed with the states to choose his young son Wratislaus, whose education he himself directed. Wratislaus afterwards married Drahomira, a woman of an illustrious family, but a pretended convert to the christian faith. By her he had two sons, who both succeeded him in their turns. He assisted the Moravians against A. D. 908.

the Hungarians, who had invaded them; and dying soon after, Drahomira took upon her the administration of the government during the minority of her children. It was then she first discovered her hatred to the Christians; and committing the government of the city to pagan magistrates, she massacred above three hundred christians in one night; afterwards burnt their temples, and ordered them to deliver up all their arms. But Wenceslaus the Second, her elder son, coming to the government, the christians were again encouraged; and in order to prevent disputes with his brother Boleslaus, who had been educated under his mother, he ceded to him all that part of Bohemia beyond the Elbe. Wenceslaus, spending much of his time in praying and fasting, one of his subjects was tempted to rebel against him, and advanced with an army towards Prague. Wenceslaus, to spare the lives of his subjects, offered to fight him in a duel in the presence of the two armies. Radislaus, the rebel, accepted the challenge; and as the chronicles relate, Wenceslaus, being assisted by heaven, gained the victory without a blow. The news of this victory gave such pleasure to the emperor, Otho the great, that he sent for Wenceslaus to the diet at Worms, where he entertained him in great respect, and offered him the title of king. This, however, Wenceslaus refused; asking only the arm of St. Vitus, which had been deposited in the monastery of Corbeia, in Saxony. Returning to Prague with this relick, Wenceslaus caused a church to be built for its reception, which was consecrated by St. Wolfgang, bishop of Ratisbon. His

A. D. 916.

pious life excited the envy of his brother, Boleslaus, who, with the consent of his mother, soon after murdered him, and succeeded to the government; which he administered with great cruelty, persecuting the christians, and obliging them to fly the kingdom. The year following, the emperor Otho entered Bohemia with an army, to revenge the death of Wenceslaus, and forced Boleslaus to submit to the following terms; namely, to use all means to expiate his guilt; to recal the Christians; to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred and twenty chosen oxen, and five hundred marks of gold; and to pay homage to the emperor on the same conditions with the other princes of Germany. Boleslaus was afterwards twice invaded by the Hungarians and Moravians, but succeeded in repulsing them. He now inclined to christianity, and not only refused his daughter Dombraia to the king of Poland, unless he embraced the faith, but sent to Rome, requesting that a christian bishop might be settled in Bohemia: and the division which at that time existed between the popes, was the sole reason why this message was not attended to. His eldest son, Strachyquas, taking the monkish habit at Ratisbon, he was succeeded in the government by his second son. A. D. 938. A. D. 967.

Boleslaus the Second, surnamed the Pious, founded and endowed twenty churches, and obtained leave from Pope John the Ninth to create a bishop at Prague. With the consent of all the priests, he appointed Dethmar, a Saxon, the first bishop; who was succeeded by Adelbert, a Bohemian. Adelbert reproving the

people for their neglect of Sunday, and the facility with which, according to their pleasure, they married and divorced their wives, they formed a conspiracy against him. Their success derived some advantage from the assistance of the Jews, who were afterwards suffered to erect a synagogue at Prague. Soon after this, Boleslaus was invaded by the prince of Poland; but in return, he entered that kingdom, and made himself master of Cracow, at a time when the Poles were engaged in opposition to the Russians, who had invaded another part of their kingdom. The king of Poland having made peace with the Prussians, marched with his army to recover Cracow; but the Bohemian garrison being well provided, obliged the Poles to raise the siege. About this time, Boleslaus died.

A. D. 999. Boleslaus the Third, who succeeded to his father, being of a covetous, slothful disposition, neglected to supply the garrison of Cracow; by which means the city again returned to the Poles. Boleslaus being afterwards persuaded by the king of Poland to visit him at Cracow, was there perfidiously deprived of sight, and then sent back to Bohemia.

A. D. 1012. Finding his inability to govern, he resigned the kingdom to his eldest son.

Jaromirius was one of the unhappiest princes of Bohemia: Cohanus of Versovicum, who had aspired to the government, finding himself disappointed, determined to destroy him. Having invited Jaromirius to hunt in his woods, he, with the assistance of some associates, tied the prince to a tree; after which the conspirators shot at him with their arrows; but his attendants coming up, the conspirators were interrupted, and

fled; while the prince, being loosed from the cross, was found miraculously cured of all his wounds. Cohanus, flying into Poland, declared he had killed Jaromirius; upon information of which, the king of Poland raised an army, and having entered Bohemia, burnt and destroyed the villages and castles, till he at last made himself master of Prague; while Jaromirius retired to his castle of Wisegrade. Udalrick, his brother, who was then with the emperor Henry, privately left that coast, came to Bohemia, and assembling some forces, recovered Prague; but thinking he had a right to the government, put out his brother's eyes, and kept him prisoner.

Udalrick, having assumed the government, fell in love with a young woman whom he saw by chance washing clothes at the side of a river as he returned from hunting. Having married her, he had by her, the next year, a son named Bretislaus: but the joy occasioned by his birth was interrupted by the news of a fresh invasion from the king of Poland, who had advanced to Glatz. The Poles, however, being attacked by a contagious distemper, raised the siege. About this time Udalrick repenting of his conduct towards his brother, by the mediation of the bishop, was reconciled to him, and afterwards admitted him to a participation of the government. Bretislaus, being now of age, was created by his father marquis of Moravia, and taking the government of that province, repulsed the Poles, who had invaded it, and took so many prisoners, that he sold them to the Hungarians by hundreds. Afterwards going to Ratisbon, under the pretext of visiting the relicks of St. Wolfgang, he carried off A. D. 1027.

Jutha, the daughter of the emperor Otho, who was placed there in a nunnery. To revenge this rape, Henry II. marched an army to Bohemia; but before any hostilities commenced, the contending parties were reconciled by the mediation of Jutha, who was soon after delivered of a son, named Spilignæus. Bretislaus being absent, assisting the emperor in his wars against the Hungarians, Udalrick, his father, died; upon whose death he succeeded to the government, in conjunction with his uncle Jaromirius. A. D. 1043.

The Poles being at this time without a king, Bretislaus thought it a proper opportunity to revenge the injuries of his grandfather; and entering Poland with an army, took Cracow, and likewise made himself master of the castle of Sydeca, whither the nobility had fled. Having taken several other towns, a great number of prisoners, and much spoil, he returned to Bohemia, but was soon informed that the emperor Henry was preparing to invade him with two armies; one from Saxony, and the other, commanded by himself, from the mountains of Bavaria. Bretislaus sent Procopius to oppose the Saxons, and watched the motions of the emperor himself, who, trusting to the number of his troops, and marching without any discipline, was surprised by Bretislaus before he had got out of the woods. The Saxons on the other side the kingdom had better success: they obtained a deal of spoil without meeting with Procopius, who was afterwards put to death for his neglect. The emperor Henry, to revenge his disgrace, led another army to Bohemia, laid siege to Prague, and obliged Bretislaus to sue

for peace, which he obtained upon condition of doing homage to the emperor, and paying one thousand five hundred pounds of silver. Bretislaus afterwards defeated the Hungarian robbers that ravaged Moravia, and concluded a perpetual peace with Cassimir, king of Poland. He left five sons, the eldest of whom, Spitigneus, inherited Bohemia; and Moravia was divided among the four youngest.

Spitigneus succeeded to the government immediately; and by an edict ordered all the Germans to depart the kingdom within three days, not excepting his own mother, who afterwards married Peter, king of Hungary. Hearing likewise that his conduct was blamed at Moravia, he marched into that country, and took his brothers Conrad and Otho prisoners; but their elder brother Wratislaus flying into Hungary, there married Adelheid, the king's sister; which Spitigneus being informed of, he was reconciled to his brother, fearing lest the king of Hungary should espouse his quarrel. Spitigneus dying, was succeeded by his brother. A. D. 1055.

Wratislaus II. divided Moravia betwixt his brothers Conrad and Otho, his youngest brother Jaromirius being designed to succeed to the bishoprick of Prague. The Poles about this time were preparing to invade Bohemia. Wratislaus assembled an army at Glatz; but his wife Adelheid being dead, he concluded a peace by marrying Suatava, the king's sister, and ended all disputes about Silesia, which was entirely ceded to Bohemia. A dispute soon after arising between the emperor Henry and his son, Wratislaus assisted the em- A. D. 1061.

peror, and defeated Leopold, marquis of Austria, who had invaded Moravia. But Henry, the emperor's son, having taken his father prisoner, shut him up in prison, where he died, and succeeded himself to the imperial throne. Soon after holding a diet at Mentz, and considering the great possessions of Wratislaus, he declared him king of Bohemia; and, in favour of Jaromirius, now called Gerard, bishop of Prague, he joined Olmutz to that bishoprick. The inhabitants of Lusace threatening a rebellion, he sent his eldest son Bretislaus to quell them, who defeated them in several skirmishes; but afterwards refusing obedience to his father, he was banished to Pannonia, and his younger brother Conrad succeeded to the kingdom, but enjoyed it only seven months. A. D. 1092. Upon his death, the states assembling continued for some time doubtful whether they should recal Bretislaus from his banishment, or confer the kingdom on the sons of Conrad; but Bretislaus approaching the frontiers, they sent deputies to him, with an offer of the crown.

Bretislaus, arriving at Prague, made himself very popular, and married Lucretia, daughter of the prince palatine A. D. 1093. of the Rhine. He afterwards published an edict against sorcery and witchcraft; and the Poles having taken possession of Silesia, he recovered that province from them, and enriched his exchequer by the confiscated estates of many of the lords who had favoured the Polish invasion. He likewise seized upon the riches of the Jews; and having defeated the sons of Conrad, he received the investiture of his states from the emperor at Ratisbon; but was soon after killed by

an arrow while hunting, and was succeeded by his brother.

Borivorius II. met with great disturbance in the beginning of his reign from Udalrick, the son of his eldest brother Conrad, whom he had set free from his imprisonment in the castle of Glatz. Udalrick had scarcely submitted, when Suatopluous his cousin, pretended to the kingdom, whose faction prevailing, Borivorius fled to Poland, and from thence to the emperor; but found no redress, as Suatopluous was by the consent of the states settled in the government. Suatopluous afterwards attending the emperor in his wars in Germany, was assassinated by a traitor in his camp. A. D. 1100. A. D. 1107.

Uladislaus, third son of Wratislaus, succeeded his cousin; but going to receive the investiture of the crown from the emperor, his exiled brother, Borivorius, privately entered Prague, and assumed the government. Being informed of this, Uladislaus returned from his journey; and after a few slight skirmishes, the dispute was referred to the decision of the emperor, who determined in favour of Uladislaus. Soon after, Sobreslaus, his youngest brother, pretended to the crown, and with the assistance of the Poles, invaded the kingdom; but the two brothers being reconciled by their mother, Lusace was ceded to Sobreslaus, and Borivorius was likewise called to a partnership of the throne; but showing a partiality to the Germans, he was afterwards obliged to fly into Hungary. Uladislaus dying left three sons; but his youngest, A. D. 1109.

brother, Sobreslaus, succeeded to the crown. His cousin, Otho, complaining to the emperor Lotharius, of the injury done him by the Bohemians, that emperor marched at the head of a powerful army into Bohemia, where he was defeated by Sobreslaus; and Otho the competitor dying, a peace was concluded; and Sobreslaus assisting the emperor against Bavaria, Lotharius confirmed Lusace to the duke's son, and was guarantee of a peace between Sobreslaus and the king of Poland. After the death of Lotharius, Conrad having fixed himself in the imperial throne, by the assistance of Sobreslaus, and other princes of Germany, he, at the desire of Sobreslaus, gave the investiture of Bohemia to Uladislaus, eldest son of his late brother.

A. D. 1125.

Uladislaus succeeding his uncle, was soon disturbed in his government by Conrad, who pretended to the crown; but the emperor marching to the assistance of Uladislaus, Conrad was defeated; and afterwards being reconciled to the emperor, went to the Holy Land against the Turks.

A. D. 1140.

About this time, Henry, bishop of Olmutz, went to Rome to complain of the irregularities daily committed by the priests, and returned with a legate of Pope Eugenius III. having full power to inquire into and redress the abuses. Frederick Barbarossa being elected emperor, and going to Rome to be crowned, he left Uladislaus as a vicar of the empire in his absence; he afterwards invited him to his marriage, and crowned him king of Bohemia; for which favour Uladislaus attended the emperor into Lombardy, and assisted him at the siege of

Milan. Upon his return from Lombardy, he brought an Italian architect with him, by whose direction a bridge of twenty-four arches was built over the river Muldaw. The city of Milan again rebelling, Uladislaus sent assistance to the emperor, under the command of his son Frederick, and his brother Theobold; and when they returned he retired into a monastery, and resigned the government to his son Frederick, who, not obtaining the investiture of the emperor, went into banishment in Pannonia; while Udalrick, on whom the emperor conferred the kingdom, resigned it to his elder brother Sobreslaus; but he soon displeasing the emperor, Frederick again recovered his dignity. Frederick soon after going to the diet at Ratisbon, Sobreslaus twice defeated him in his return, and made a strong effort to recover the kingdom; but by the assistance of the inhabitants of Prague, Frederick at last entirely routed him. The emperor soon after summoning Frederick to another diet at Ratisbon, a second pretender seized the government; but the emperor giving him the investiture of the kingdom, sent him back with a sufficient force to expel his rival. Conrad, who afterwards went to the Holy Land. Upon his return, Frederick dying, he was elected king; but going soon after to Naples to assist the emperor in the siege of that city, he died there of a contagious distemper. Upon his death, two relatives, Wenceslaus and Premislaus, disputed the crown. Wenceslaus was favoured by the inhabitants of Prague; but fearing the power of his rival, he went to beg the assistance of the emperor, and in his return was taken

A. D. 1175.

A. D. 1190.

prisoner by the marquis of Lusace. Premislaus then seized the government; but being summoned by the emperor to give an account of his usurpation, he left Bohemia, and retired into Moravia. The states afterwards chose their bishop Henry, for their king, who administered their government with great prudence; but desiring to resign on account of his age, Premislaus returned from Moravia with his brother Uladislaus, in order to seize the government; but the people, from their affection to Henry, defeated their invaders, took Uladislaus prisoner, whom they confined, and obliged Premislaus to fly. But Henry again assembling the states, resigned the government into their hands, and retired to Egra, where he died. Upon his death, the states took Uladislaus from his prison, and declared him king.

A. D. 1196. His elder brother, who was seduced to be an assistant to some masons at Ratisbon, hearing of his promotion, returned immediately to Prague, where an agreement was concluded betwixt them, Premislaus being put in possession of the kingdom, and resigning Moravia to his brother. Soon after, at the resignation of the king of France, he declared for Philip, who was then disputing the imperial dignity with Otho; however, he quickly changed his party, and favoured Otho's cause so zealously that he got the name of Othischgar, turned afterwards by the Bohemians to Othogar. He again embraced the party of Philip, who gave his daughter Cunegunda in marriage to his son Wenceslaus, and at last obtained the quiet possession of the empire. He being assassinated at Bamberg, and Otho succeeding to the empire,

Premislaus was again reconciled to him, and promised him three hundred men to attend him during his expedition to Rome to receive the imperial crown. The new emperor having a rupture with the court of Rome, was excommunicated by the Pope, who prevailed with the electors to choose Frederick II. at whose election Premislaus was present, and obtained from him the privilege of being absent from the diets of the Empire, unless when they are held at Bamberg, Nuremberg, or Ratisbon, and an exemption from paying any taxes. Towards the end of his long reign, he caused his son Wenceslaus to be crowned, in order to secure the succession to his family, and soon after died at Prague.

Wenceslaus IV. was surnamed Othogar, and in the beginning of his reign was engaged in repelling an invasion of the Austrians, who ravaged Moravia, but were defeated by the Bohemians, under the command of Premislaus, the king's son. Soon after he gave assistance to the marquis of Brandenburg, against the bishops of Magdeburg and Halberstadt; but by the oppression of his subjects raised a general disaffection to his government; so that at the instigation of his nobles his own son Premislaus rebelled against him. This rebellion, however, was soon quelled; for Wenceslaus marching against the rebels, entirely defeated them, and took his son prisoner. Not long after, he had a more formidable enemy to contend with; for the Thattasi, a people of Scythia, had left their own country, to the number of five hundred thousand, and after over-running Poland, Lithuania, and part of A. D. 1123.

Russia, invaded Moravia and besieged Olmutz. He marched with an army to the relief of the city, and, in some skirmishes with the Barbarians, having killed one of their generals, they thought proper to raise the siege, to evacuate his dominions, and to march into Hungary.

A. D. 1255. Wenceslaus dying, his son Premislaus succeeded to the kingdom, and took the name of Othogar. After settling his affairs in Bohemia, he went to take possession of Austria, where he had been chosen duke upon the death of Frederick, the last of the Austrian line. While he continued in that dutchy, he purchased from Udalrick duke of Carinthia, a part of Carinthia, all Stiria, and the port of Naon, in the Adriatick. Marching afterwards to oppose the Prussians, who had declared war against the christians, he defeated them in several engagements; upon which success many of those people consented to abandon paganism, and two of their chiefs were baptized. Having established his government in Prussia, and built Konigsberg, he returned with his army to Stiria, to repel an invasion of the Hungarians. He at first agreed to a truce with the invaders, which they basely violated, and hoping to surprise him, attacked his camp in the night; but they were repulsed with loss, and entirely defeated. Upon the news of this victory, the cities of Verona, Feltri, and Treviso, sent an embassy to him, desiring his protection. After his return to Bohemia, he received an offer of the imperial crown, which he is said to have disdainfully rejected: but the refusal in the end proved his ruin; for Rodolphus count

of Hapsburg, who had formerly been great marshal of his court, having been elected, he, in disdain, refused to do him homage, and to take the investiture of his states from him. At last he found the necessity of complying, and according to the custom, on his knees, delivered five standards to the emperor for the five fiefs which he possessed. But Rodolphus only returning him two, and keeping those of Carinthia, Austria, and Stiria, which he alleged he had no right to, a war ensued, in which Othogar lost his life.

Wenceslaus succeeded his father Othogar, and being only eight years of age, was put under the guardianship of his uncle the marquis of Brandenburg. In his fifteenth year he was declared of age, and soon after married Judith, the emperor's daughter. As the kingdom of Poland about this time was torn to pieces by the factions of the nobles, Wenceslaus obtained possession of the provinces of Sandomir and Cracow; and Premislaus, who was chosen some time after king of Poland, being killed by the marquis of Brandenburg, in an engagement in Pomerania, he succeeded him in that kingdom. After his coronation at Cracow, he left the administration of the government of Poland to a viceroy, and returned to Bohemia, when he proposed to commit the laws of the kingdom to writing; for which purpose he sent for one Gotius, a celebrated lawyer, from Orvieto in Italy: but his design, for what reason is uncertain, was opposed by the states. About the same time he received an offer of the crown of Hungary; but not choosing to go himself into that kingdom, he sent his

A. D. 1278.

young son thither, who was also chosen king. Soon after, hearing that his son only enjoyed the title without any authority, while the nobles by their factions harassed the kingdom, he recalled him to Bohemia, and, not long after his return, died at Prague.

A. D. 1308. Wenceslaus succeeded to the kingdom at the age of sixteen; but neglecting the administration of the government, devoted his whole time to rioting and feasting. He married Viola, the daughter of one of his nobles, and gave his sister Anne in marriage to Henry, duke of Carinthia. Being prevailed upon to go into Poland to take possession of the kingdom, he gave orders for assembling an army, and in the mean time proceeded to Olmutz, where he was assassinated in his chamber, having reigned but a single year. As he was the last of the male descendants of the first duke Premislaus, Henry duke of Carinthia, who had married his sister Anne, was proposed as his successor. A faction

A. D. 1309. of the nobles, however, proposed Rodolphus, the son of the emperor, who was acknowledged as king by a numerous party; but while his father was reducing the malcontents, he died, and left the succession to his competitor Henry, who after a short reign was expelled for his bad government.

A. D. 1310. John, of the family of Luxemburg, succeeded; and his first care was to suppress the hordes of robbers and banditti, to whom the disputes about the succession had given rise. His dominions being invaded by the dukes of Saxony and Austria, at the instigation of the emperor, in consequence of his interference

in the disputes of Italy, he quickly repulsed them; and at the same time the young prince Charles, then only in his sixteenth year, gained a signal victory over the Guelphs and Ghibelines, in Lombardy. In the following year he returned to Italy, to carry on the war against the duke of Brabant; was afterwards engaged in a contest with the duke of Austria concerning the succession to the dukedom of Carinthia, and undertook an unsuccessful expedition into Prussia against the Lithuanians. A complaint in his eyes soon after induced him to try the fine air of Montpellier, in France, but without success; for he shortly afterwards became quite blind. In the following year he resigned the kingdom of Bohemia to his son Charles, and receiving from him five thousand crowns, went again to France. But the dreadful deprivation of sight did not incapacitate John from assisting in the defence of the kingdom; for a league having been formed against him, by the kings of Hungary and Poland, and several other princes, he joined the army of his son Charles, obliged the Poles to retreat, besieged Cracow, and compelled them to agree to a peace, in which the rest of the allies were comprehended. He afterwards, with his son Charles, visited Pope Clement VI. at Avignon, where he entered into a negociation for procuring the imperial crown for Charles. The pope accordingly published a bull deposing Lewis of Bavaria, and commanding the electors to choose Charles marquis of Moravia. John next proceeded to France, to the assistance of Philip of Valois, against the English, where at the famous battle of Cressy, he was slain with the flower of the French nobility. It was on

this occasion that the prince of Wales assumed the cap with three feathers, and the motto of *ich dien* on that day worn by John.

Charles the Fifth succeeding his father, created his brother John marquis of Moravia, and erected the university of Prague (which he prevailed upon the pope to make an archbishoprick) upon the same plan as that of Paris. He afterwards went to Rome, where he and his empress were crowned, and brought with him, on his return to Prague, the relicks of St. Vitus, patron of Bohemia. When at Rome, the Romans came to offer him the government of their city, as his hereditary right, and entreated him to re-establish their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate on the proposal; but being apprehensive of some treachery, he withdrew in the evening, under the pretence of going to take the diversion of hunting; and he afterwards ratified many promises extorted from him by the pope, very much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy. It was on this occasion that Petrarch, the poet to the fair, forsook his amorous strains, and addressed Charles, by letter, in these spirited words:—"You have then promised upon oath, never to "return to Rome!—What shameful conduct "in an emperor, to be compelled by a priest, "to content himself with the bare title of "Cæsar, and to exile himself for ever from the "habitation of the Cæsars! to be crowned em-"peror, and then prohibited from reigning, or "acting at the head of the empire!—What "an insult upon him who ought to command "the universe, to be no longer master of "himself, but reduced to obey his own vassal!"

Charles generally resided in Bohemia, and seemed more intent upon establishing his family, than the administration of the empire. He enlarged his empire by peaceable acquisitions, caused his son Wenceslaus to be crowned king; by the assistance of several learned men reduced the laws of the kingdom into writing, under the name of the Caroline constitution; and endeavoured to join the Moldaw to the Danube; but death prevented the completion of his design, the execution of which he recommended to his son.

Wenceslaus, upon succeeding to the crown, abandoned himself to every species of debauchery, until the publick patience was at length exhausted. He was twice confined by the grandees of Bohemia, and twice escaped, until he was at length deprived of the imperial crown by the concurrence of all the electors: but though little affected by his deposition, he seems to have been sensibly affected by some of its probable consequences; for he sent to desire the imperial city, as the last mark of their fidelity, to send him some butts of their best wine. It must however be confessed, that during the nineteen years which he afterwards reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was much less exceptionable. In the mean time, Bohemia was involved in new disorders, by the preaching of the famous John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, both men of learning, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and were excommunicated by the pope; but as the destructive consequences to which their new doctrines gave rise are fully detailed in the history of the empire, we shall pass them over. Wenceslaus died of an apoplec- A. D. 1399.

tick fit in the year 1420, and was succeeded by his brother Sigismund, king of Hungary, a prince of experience and abilities, whose first care was to heal the wounds of the church. Being elected emperor on the death of Robert count Palatine, who had succeeded the deposed Wenceslaus, he convoked a general council at Constance, in which he appeared in all his glory. It was attended by a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, and doctors, more than a hundred sovereign princes, one hundred and eight counts, two hundred barons, and twenty-seven ambassadors, from the several European courts, who all vied with each other in luxury and magnificence. There were also five hundred players on instruments, called minstrels, and seven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magistracy. It was by this council that Huss and Jerome of Prague were sentenced, and burnt as hereticks, after defending themselves with great eloquence and strength of argument. Poggio, the Florentine, secretary to pope John, and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present on this occasion, declares that he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to the judges.—"He "spoke, exclaims Poggio, like Socrates, and "walked to the stake with as much cheerfulness, "as that great philosopher drank the cup of "hemlock."

Sigismund, notwithstanding his great power, was several times defeated by the Hussites, under the command of John Zisca, who revenged the death of their martyrs, by the most

terrible outrages. Zisca continued master of Bohemia till his death, when he ordered a drum to be made of his skin, which was long the signal of victory. He was succeeded in his command by Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, because he had been a priest, and who supported his party with no less valour than his predecessor; and, though unsuccessful in a battle with Sigismund, the Hussites nevertheless, in that extremity, obtained a general amnesty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of using the cup in the communion; a concession which to them was a triumph. Although Sigismund had been so fortunate as to gain the affections of the Bohemians by his convention, and even enlisted the Hussites in his army, he lost that good opinion again, by attempting to tyrannize over their consciences, and death only saved him from a second revolt. He nominated as his successor in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Albert duke of Austria, his son-in-law, who, after defeating the Hussites and his rival Casimir, brother of the king of Poland, set up by them, obtained quiet possession of the kingdom. Albert died after a short reign of two years, and was succeeded by his posthumous son Ladislaus, who was put under the guardianship of his uncle, the emperor Frederick. After several difficulties from the attempts of his guardian to detain him, and the misconduct of his subsequent guardians, he was crowned at Prague, took the usual oaths, and subscribed the articles, preserving the liberties of the Bohemians. He died in the eighteenth year of his age, of a cholick occasioned by eating turnips.

A. D. 1460. There never appeared so many candidates for the crown of Bohemia as at this period. But notwithstanding the em-

ror, the two dukes of Austria, Casimir king of Poland, William duke of Saxony, and the king of France, who proposed one of his sons as a candidate, offering to pay the national debts, recover all the lost countries, and raise no taxes for seven years, yet George Podiebrad, one of the prefecture, was unanimously saluted king. He regained all the former dominions of the kingdoms; but calling an assembly of the state, and reproaching the pope for offering to violate the secrecy of the council of Basle, and demanding their assistance to defend the liberties of the nation, he was deposed by pope Paul II. who gave the kingdom to Matthias, king of Hungary.—George, though abandoned by Moravia and Silesia, yet defended his crown with great fortitude. At last, pitying the calamities which the nation suffered, he challenged his competitor to decide the question in single combat, which was declined.

A. D. 1471. Upon the death of George, the states, notwithstanding the faction of Matthias, elected Uladislaus, son of Casimir, king of Poland, their sovereign. Upon the death of Matthias, he married his widow Beatrice, by which means he got possession of the crown of Hungary; but as soon as he had secured the quiet possession of the new crown, he divorced Beatrice, and signalized himself in opposing Bajazet, the second emperor of the Turks. By his authority, he composed in a great measure the disputes about religion, and sent for learned men from Italy, to restore, by their assistance, the university of Prague to its former splendour. His son Lewis was crowned by the Hungarians, and also in Bohemia, while an infant, and at the early age of eleven years, upon his father's death, was de-

clared of age and fit to govern; the care of the government being committed to Stephen Bathori, under the title of palatine of the kingdom. The capture of Belgrade by the Turks, alarmed the nation, and an inconsiderable army was raised in haste, with which Lewis engaged the Turks at Mohaltz, where he was entirely defeated, and in his flight drowned in the Danube.

After the death of Lewis, his dominions fell to Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, infant of Spain, and afterwards emperor, who had married Anne, the only daughter of Uladislaus. Both the empire and the kingdom of Bohemia have ever since continued in the Austrian family, and their history is consequently detailed in that of the empire.

HUNGARY.

THIS flourishing nation formerly possessed all the countries from the eastern part of Germany to Thrace and the Euxine Sea, and from the Adriatick Gulf as far north as Sarmatia. The present kingdom is bounded, towards the south, by the river Drave; on the north, by the Carpathian mountains; on the east, by Transylvania and Wallachia; and on the west, by Stiria, Austria, and Moravia. The river Danube divides it into two provinces, called Upper and Lower Hungary; there are but few cities, and those thinly inhabited, but a great number of large villages and towns full of people.

The modern Hungarians are descended from the ancient Huns, whose origin and emigrations are related in the ancient history. Though they were conquered by Charlemagne, they were not extirpated; and many, in order to be freed from tribute, became christians.

In the early periods of history, the Hungarians are only known to have existed, from their incursions into Germany, France, Italy, and Bulgaria; nor is any mention made of their internal government. No enemy having invaded the country for more than a century, it remained a quiet nursery for those roving warriors.

A. D. 989. The first christian king of Hungary was Geysa, who was converted by Saint Adalbert, bishop of Prague. In the beginning of his reign, the Hungarians were in pos-

session of Austria; but it was re-conquered by Leopold duke of Suabia, brother-in-law to the emperor Henry II. to whom the possession of it was given upon that condition. Geysa exerted himself in attempting to convert his subjects to christianity, notwithstanding the great opposition he met with from his nobles, whose ideas of glory were solely confined to invasions and ravages.

His son Stephen succeeded, and is generally deemed the first king of Hungary, his predecessors holding that power more by authority than title. He is greatly celebrated for his piety and unwearied endeavours to convert his barbarous subjects; and he not only divided his kingdom into ten bishopricks, which he richly endowed, and built churches, but he likewise founded and endowed a monastery at Jerusalem, a church at Constantinople, and another at Rome. Stephen was also a warlike prince, and not only quelled a formidable invasion of his own subjects, but repulsed the Bulgarians, who had invaded his kingdom, with great slaughter.

Peter, the nephew and successor of Stephen, became so odious to his subjects, by his preference to the Germans, that he was deposed, and one Aba substituted in his place. But he soon became as hateful as his predecessor, from his insolence and cruelty; and Peter, being aided by the marquis of Moravia, after a bloody battle recovered his kingdom. His partiality for the Germans and Italians, however, continued to such an extent, that a second conspiracy was formed against him; two of the princes, whom he had banished, were recalled; and Peter himself being taken in endea- A. D. 1034.

vouring to escape, his eyes were put out, soon after which he died.

The nation had conceived so great an aversion to the religion of the Germans, that they destroyed the churches, plundered their wealth, and stoned to death many of the bishops and monks. But as soon as Andrew, one of the recalled princes, was seated on the throne, he rebuilt the churches, and restored christianity. About the year 1051 he invited his brother Bela to come into Hungary, and, with the consent of the states, divided the kingdom into three parts, one of which he allotted to Bela. In the following year, the two brothers successfully repelled two invasions of the emperor Henry III.; but some time after, Andrew having caused his son Solomon, though then only five years of age, to be crowned, in order to secure to him the succession, this so offended Bela, that he retired into Poland, from whence he returned with a formidable army, and engaging Andrew, defeated and killed him.

A. D. 1059. Bela, on being settled on the throne, immediately pardoned all those who had taken his brother's part, and applying himself to the administration of the kingdom, lessened the taxes, established fairs, coined gold and silver money, and, to settle the affairs of religion, ordered four hundred elderly men from each town to assemble at the Albe Royal at a certain time. This produced a considerable tumult, the people demanding to have their ancient religion; but Bela having assembled, soon quelled the insurgents. He died in the third year of his reign, in consequence of a hurt he received from the falling walls of a building.

Upon Bela's death, Solomon, the son of Andrew, being in Germany, with the assistance of the emperor, opposed the succession of Geysa, Bela's eldest son; but a reconciliation being effected, through the mediation of the bishops, Geysa relinquished his pretensions to the kingdom, and contented himself with his father's dutchy. Solomon and Geysa assisted the king of Dalmatia when attacked by the Carinthians, repelled an invasion of the Bohemians, and in return laid waste Moravia, defeated an irruption of the Chuni, inhabiting that part now called Wallachia, and concluded a peace with Bohemia. A. D. 1063.

Hungary now enjoyed peace for three years, when the Bessi and Bulgarians, having invaded the kingdom, were defeated by Solomon and Geysa, who also declared war against the Albanians, for permitting the invaders to pass through their country, and plundered their capital, now called Belgrade. The division of the immense booty taken in this city, produced a civil war between Solomon and Geysa, by which the former lost his kingdom and retired into Germany. Geysa was now proclaimed king by the universal consent of the states; but on being informed that the emperor Henry IV. was marching to replace Solomon on the throne, by persuasion of the bishop of Strigonia, he agreed to surrender two-thirds of the kingdom to Solomon, with the regal dignity, reserving the other to himself, with the title of duke; but he died before this reconciliation was effected. A. D. 1070.

On the death of Geysa, the states chose his brother Ladislaus; but he would not permit him-

self to be crowned, Solomon being still alive. By the death of his brother-in-law, Zolomirus king of Dalmatia, Ladislaus acquired the kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia, which have been since that time annexed to the crown of Hungary. Solomon, notwithstanding his acceptance of a yearly pension and renunciation of the crown, made several attempts, by the assistance of the Chuni, to regain his kingdom; but all his efforts being frustrated, he at last abandoned all schemes of ambition, and forsaking society, lived a solitary life in the woods; and, at his death, was buried in the city of Pola. The Chuni, however, having attempted a second invasion, were completely defeated, and Ladislaus killed their king Acus in single combat. He now turned his arms against the Russians, who having desired peace, he next attacked the Poles for assisting the Chuni, defeated their army, and Cracow surrendered to him after a three months' siege. On the emperor Henry IV. being excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII. he promised twenty thousand horse to act against Henry, and being appointed chief of the first crusade, he made great preparation for the holy war; but marching with an army into Bohemia, to assist Bretislaus in obtaining that crown, vacant by the death of his uncle Conrad, he was seized with a distemper of which he died, in the nineteenth year of his reign, greatly lamented by all his subjects, who wore mourning for him three years.

A. D. 1095. Ladislaus was succeeded by Coloman, eldest son of his brother Geysa, who, on account of the great cruelties committed by the Germans in their march to the Holy

land, opposed their passage through Hungary, in which attempt he was defeated, though not without a great loss by their own army, which was extremely harassed by Coloman in their march.

Hungary was next disturbed by a civil war, between Coloman and his brother Almus; but a reconciliation being effected, they lived for some time in amity. Coloman, however, having conceived some suspicion against Almus, ordered both his and his son Bela's eyes to be put out. Hungary was at this period not only harassed by these civil dissentions, but by foreign wars; for Coloman alledging that the Russians had not fulfilled the treaty of peace with Ladislaus, entered the country, destroying every thing in his way. His conduct to their queen, Lance, who had come to his camp to entreat for peace, strongly marks the brutality of the times: Coloman not only treated her with disdain, but even kicked her when on her knees. Lance left him, resolved on revenge; and having assembled her army, she attacked the Hungarian camp in the night, and destroyed the whole army, Coloman with a few attendants escaping with great difficulty.

The Normans having ravaged the sea-coasts of Dalmatia, Coloman next turned his arms to that quarter, and with the assistance of the Venetians, succeeded in repulsing them; but having seized several provinces in that country, belonging to the Venetians, a war broke out between them, which, after various success, was at length concluded by a treaty of peace for five years. Coloman died in the year 1114, after a reign of nineteen years.

A. D. 1114. His son and successor Stephen being a minor, the administration of affairs was conducted by the bishops and nobles for eight years, during which time Hungary happily enjoyed a profound peace. Stephen, having at length got the government into his own hands, soon displayed a temper not less cruel and savage than his father's. He invaded Poland, and declared war against the Bohemians, which had nearly been terminated by an amicable arrangement, when one Soltha, a Hungarian refugee in the Bohemian camp, by letters to Stephen, and exciting jealousy in the king of Bohemia, rendered both parties so distrustful of each other, that the conference ended in a battle, in which the Bohemians were defeated. Both parties being at last convinced of their error, a treaty was agreed to, and the traitor Soltha being carried to Hungary, was torn to pieces by horses.

Stephen's next expeditions were against the Russians, the Poles, and the emperor of Constantinople, who had struck his wife for defending the character of Stephen: the ravages he committed there were conducted with so much cruelty, that mothers, for many years, used his name to quiet their crying children. Stephen being at last defeated by the emperor, a peace was concluded between them.

Stephen's cruelty rendered his name so odious to his subjects, that they stiled him the thunderer, his actions being guided more by the violence of his passions than any principle of reason. He banished his uncle Almus into Thrace, where, being received by the emperor, he founded a city, to which numbers of the Hungarians fled, to avoid the cruelties of their own sovereign.

Stephen was at last seized with remorse; and having no children, he sent for his cousin Bela, to whom he resigned the kingdom; and as a sign of penitence, took upon him the monkish habit. Bela, his successor, surnamed the Blind, was greatly beloved for his moderation and continual application to the administration of justice; but his queen having prevailed upon him to punish his former enemies with rigour, a rebellion broke out among the discontented nobles, who endeavoured to place Borichus, a bastard son of Coloman, upon the throne. Borichus being defeated, the chiefs were seized and put to death; but Bela, after gaining this victory, having given himself up to feasting and other entertainments, he contracted a habit of drinking, which produced a dropsy, and killed him in the tenth year of his reign.

Geysa, the eldest son of Bela, being under age, the government was committed to the management of the bishops and nobles. Although Geysa was but a youth, the margrave of Austria having seized on Presburg by surprise, from whence he made incursions into the Hungarian territories, he marched against them, and defeated his army with the loss of seven thousand men, the margrave himself escaping with difficulty. By this victory, Geysa secured his kingdom from invasion for the remainder of his reign. Having, however, granted permission to the emperor Conrad III. to pass through Hungary, that monarch revenged the defeat of his ally the margrave; having plundered the monasteries and churches of their wealth, and permitted his soldiers to commit every species of excess, under pretence of

A. D. 1141.

supplying themselves with necessaries. The conduct of Lewis VII. of France, to whom Geysa gave the same permission, was however very different; his army being kept under the strictest discipline, and marching without offending the meanest subject. Lewis, however, refused to give up the bastard Borichus, who had insinuated himself into his army; declaring, that the protection of kings ought to be a sanctuary to those that claimed it; but Borichus having attempted to escape, was pursued and killed. Geysa next assisted in reinstating his father-in-law Minoslaus, who had been expelled his throne by the Russians; after which he returned with great honour into Hungary. For the remainder of his reign, Geysa seems to have distinguished himself by his liberality to the poor and bounty to the church. He died in the twentieth year of his reign, having declared his eldest son Stephen king before his death.

A. D. 1161. Stephen, soon after his accession, having ravaged the Venetian territories in Dalmatia, was recalled home, to oppose the usurpation of his uncle Ladislaus; who being supported by most of the bishops and many of the clergy, had declared himself king. Ladislaus and his brother held the throne for five months, when Stephen again recovered his kingdom, which he did not live long to enjoy. Dying without issue, his brother Bela succeeded, whose integrity and firmness were highly necessary, to restrain the licentiousness of his subjects. He published an edict against thieves, robbers, and murderers; and ordered that in future all applications should be made to him in writing, and not personally, as was the custom. He was

engaged in some short wars with the Poles, Russians, and Austrians; but his chief concern was to recover the maritime states of Dalmatia from the Venetians. He accordingly got possession of Zara and other towns, which he fortified so strongly, that the Venetians attempted in vain to retake them. A truce having been agreed upon, Bela returned to Hungary, where he honourably entertained the emperor Barbarossa, on his march to the Holy Land, and supplied his whole army of 100,000 men with necessaries.

Bela died in the twenty-third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son Emerick, whose reign was soon disturbed by the rebellion of his brother Andrew. Having in vain attempted to pacify his brother, he drew up his army to oppose him; but wishing to spare the effusion of blood, in the presence of both armies he put off his armour, and going alone into the midst of his brother's troops, with the crown * on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he thus addressed them: "Which "of you, soldiers, will dare to pollute his hands "with the most sacred blood of his king? which "of you desires to violate, in my person, the "sacred blood of St. Stephen and your king? "Consider whom you attack! Emerick can die "but once; and to die here will be most glo"rious for me, but most ignominious for you. "Accept of the pardon I offer you, and acknow"ledge your king!" Andrew's army immediately threw down their arms, and strove which A. D. 1196.

* The Hungarians believed, that whoever possessed the crown of St. Stephen, had thereby a divine right to the throne.

should first ask pardon. Andrew attempted to fly; but being taken, Emerick freely pardoned him.

Soon after this, a war broke out with the Venetians, who, with the assistance of foreign troops, recovered Istria and Zara; but a peace was at length agreed on. Emerick died not long after; and his son Ladislaus enjoyed the kingdom only six months, being taken off by a premature death.

Ladislaus was succeeded by his uncle Andrew; and during the first twelve years of his reign, Hungary enjoyed continual peace: but pope Honorius VIII. having proclaimed a new crusade, Andrew, to fulfil the vows of his father Bela, assembled a great army to join the expedition. Previous to leaving the kingdom, he intrusted the government to Bancbanus, one of the nobles, who had also the care of the queen and her four children. Bancbanus's administration gave universal satisfaction; but the queen's brother having debauched his wife by the queen's means, he stabbed the queen, declared the wrongs he had suffered and the revenge he had taken, and persisted in going directly to Constantinople, to receive his sentence from the king. Andrew being, however, convinced of his merit and fidelity, sent him back to his charge, and, on his return, acquitted him, finding his complaints against the queen just. The family of Bancbanus was however ruined, through the resentment of the king's sons.

Andrew only remained three months in the Holy Land, and brought home with him the head of St. Margaret, and Stephen the first martyr; likewise the right hand of Thomas and Bartholo-

new; a piece of Aaron's rod; and one of the water-pots in which the water was turned into wine by our Saviour, and many other relicks. Andrew died in 1235, after a reign of thirty-one years, leaving the kingdom to his son Bela, to whom he had ceded the sovereignty before his death.

Bela had been scarce five years upon the throne, when the Tartars invaded the eastern parts of Europe; upon which the Cumani, a Sarmatian nation, sought refuge in the Hungarian states, to whom Bela generously granted his protection; but his own subjects became jealous of this preference to foreigners, and reluctantly assisted him in his exertions to repel the invaders, who had, by this time, entered and ravaged Hungary. Having, however, assembled an army to oppose them, he marched after the enemy, who declined a general engagement; but at last, attacking the Hungarian camp in the night, they threw the whole army into such confusion, that Bela was totally defeated, with the loss of all his troops, and with difficulty escaped into the neighbouring woods. Bela fled into Austria; but all his exertions to rouse the emperor or the pope to his assistance, were fruitless; nor was it until the Tartars had completely plundered the whole of his dominions that he was able, with the assistance of the knights of Rhodes, to regain possession of his crown. Bela now seemed determined to reimburse his kingdom for the plunder it had experienced, and accordingly invaded Austria; laid siege to Vienna, then newly founded, defeated and killed the emperor, ravaged the country, and returned with his booty into Hungary.

A. D. 1235.

Bela was, however, soon after defeated by Othogar, king of Bohemia, who had succeeded to the empire, and obliged to conclude peace upon disadvantageous terms. For the remainder of his reign, he was entirely employed in rebuilding the cities and churches, and recovering his kingdom from the impoverished state in which it was left by the ruthless barbarians. He died in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Stephen, who, soon after his accession, defeated Othogar, marched into Bulgaria, and obliged the king of the Bulgarians to become tributary. Stephen died in the third year, and was succeeded by his son Ladislaus, surnamed the Chun, from the barbarity of his disposition. Ladislaus renewed the war with Othogar, whom he defeated; but after this success, addicted himself wholly to pleasure, and neglected the government. His general conduct, and particularly his oppression of the christians, induced the pope, at the request of the nobles, to excommunicate him; upon which he acknowledged his errors, and as a proof of his repentance, built and endowed a hospital for strangers. The Cumani having frequently ravaged the kingdom, Ladislaus, at length marched against them with his army, and gained a complete victory. After a second invasion, which the inactivity of Ladislaus prevented his taking any measures to repel, he was stabbed whilst sleeping in his tent, by some of the Cumanian women whom he had offended.

A.D. 1290. Ladislaus dying without issue, many competitors now claimed the crown; but the Hungarian nobles chose Andrew, surnamed the Venetian, grandson of Andrew

the second, by his son Stephen, born after his death. The first act of Andrew's reign, was to ravage the Austrian territories on account of some rebels, whom the archduke had refused to deliver up; but a peace through the intercession of the bishops was at last agreed upon. Upon Andrew's return, he found that the pope had ventured to declare Charles Martel, son of the king of Sicily, king of Hungary; but a civil war was prevented by the death of both of the rival kings in the year 1301.

Hungary, by their death, was again involved in intestine troubles, the nobles denying the pope's right of interference, and rejecting Charles the son of Charles Martel, whom the pope had nominated king. Wenceslaus, son of the king of Poland, though only thirteen years of age, was accordingly elected and crowned king; but the pope having incited Albert, emperor of Germany, to espouse his cause, the king of Bohemia fearing for his son's life, recalled him to his court, notwithstanding the emperor had retired without coming to an engagement.

The Hungarians, upon the departure of Wenceslaus, whom they had named Ladislaus, notwithstanding the continued opposition of the pope, chose Otho, duke of Bavaria, for their king; but he being taken prisoner by the Vaivode in Transylvania, and the pope's legate having gained over several of the nobles, Charles Martel at last received the crown of St. Stephen. In the second year of his reign, Hungary was disturbed by the invasion of the count palatine; but Charles having entirely defeated him, by that A. D. 1303.

means restored quiet to his kingdom for several years. After a narrow escape from assassination by one of his favourites, he declared war against Baizarad, Vaivode of Wallachia, and marching against him, took Zewrin, and ravaged the whole country. Having, however, rejected the reasonable overtures for peace proposed by the Vaivode, his army got entangled among the defiles, and after a continued attack by the Wallachians, for four days, was entirely destroyed, himself escaping with difficulty by changing his dress. Charles seems from this time to have devoted himself to the arts of peace, having received visits from and magnificently entertained the kings of Poland and Bohemia, with whom he concluded treaties of alliance, and also with Locha, duke of the Rutheni. Two years afterwards Charles died, having been long afflicted with the gout both in his feet and hands. Notwithstanding the unwillingness with which he was at first received, he was universally lamented.

A. D. 1342. Lewis, Charles's eldest son, succeeded; and for courage, religion, and other virtues, was not inferior to his father. In the beginning of his reign the Transylvanians having revolted, he quickly subdued them, as also the duke of Wallachia, who brought him a thousand weight of gold, which Lewis generously returned in presents of equal value. Lewis next assisted Casimir king of Poland, in his expedition against the Lithuanians, with an intention to force them to embrace christianity, which however failed. He afterwards joined Casimir, on his country being invaded by the Bohemians; but a peace was soon after con-

cluded between them. This arrangement had not been long effected, when Lewis was called upon to defend his own dominions against an invasion of the Tartars, whom after an obstinate resistance he defeated, taking their duke prisoner, whom he ordered immediately to be beheaded.

His next care was to suppress a revolt of the Croatians and Dalmatians, to whom having submitted and renewed their allegiance, he granted a pardon. Hitherto Lewis had been successful; but having marched to the assistance of the inhabitants of Zara, who had revolted from the Venetians, and claimed his protection, after several ineffectual and destructive attempts to relieve the town, which had been besieged by the fleet and army of those states, he was obliged to abandon the attempt, and return into Hungary. His next expedition was however more prosperous. His brother Andrew, king of Naples, had been barbarously murdered, not, as was supposed, without the connivence of his queen, Joanna; upon which Lewis marched into Italy, not only to investigate the circumstances, but in case Joanna was found guilty, to claim the kingdom. He was received with great respect by many of the princes, who attended him to Aversa, where he ordered several of the murderers to be executed, and sent others whose guilt was suspected, into Hungary. Lewis having marched to Naples, was declared king of Sicily and Jerusalem, where he changed the magistracy, and left a garrison. The other towns having submitted to him, he returned to Hungary after four months absence. Joanna, however, having raised a body of auxiliaries to

regain possession of the kingdom, it was agreed, by the intercession of Guidon, the apostolick legate, that the determination of the question should be referred to the pope; on condition that if Joanna was found guilty of her husband's murder, she should be deprived of all claim to the kingdom; but that, if declared innocent, the whole kingdom should be restored to her upon paying Lewis three hundred thousand florins of gold, for the expenses of the war. The following year Joanna, by the sentence of the apostolick see, was exculpated from all share in her husband's murder, though the proof of her innocence chiefly rested upon her own declaration, that she was under the power of incantation, which prevented her from having an affection for her husband, and permitted her to encourage others to conspire his death. Upon this adjudication, Lewis immediately resigned all right to the kingdom; and to prove that he did not make war from ambitious views, likewise forgave the payment of the thirty thousand florins.

A few years afterwards, Lewis was engaged in a war with the Venetians, upon account of Dalmatia: with a very numerous army he besieged Treviso, and rejected all offers of compromise; but a mutiny in his army finally compelled him to accept of much worse terms than those previously offered. By the death of Casimir, the crown of Poland descended to him; and having settled the affairs of that kingdom, he engaged in a war with the Wallachians, and soon after undertook an expedition for the purpose of placing Charles Duras, a prince of the blood of Naples, upon that throne, in conse-

quence of the queen Joanna's having espoused the cause of the anti-pope Clement, against Urban VI. Joanna being defeated and taken prisoner, was strangled.

Lewis having worn out his constitution by his continued expeditions and fatigues, died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fortieth of his reign; leaving his daughter betrothed to Sigismund marquis of Brandenburg, his successor. Lewis was a great favourer of learned men, and left behind him a high character for prudence, generosity, and valour. A.D. 1382.

Mary, three years after her accession to the throne, married Sigismund; the affairs of the kingdom having been, in the mean time, conducted by her mother, with the assistance of Nicholas Gara, whose services had induced Lewis to raise him to the dignity of Palatine. This administration at first gave great satisfaction; but an attempt to control the power of the nobles, raised a conspiracy, which ended in bringing in Charles, king of Naples, and the deposition of Mary. Charles, however, being assassinated by a retainer of the queen-mother's, Mary again got possession of the throne; but in visiting the southern parts of the kingdom, was unexpectedly attacked by Howatius, governor of Croatia, and a steady friend of the deceased Charles. Mary was confined, and the queen-mother thrown into the river Bozota. Sigismund, the husband of Mary, upon this raised an army in Brandenburg and Bohemia, marched into Hungary, and having got quiet possession of the kingdom, Mary was set at liberty, upon swearing to Howatius to forget all that had

passed; and, in the same year, her husband Sigismund, at her request, was crowned king. Sigismund's first care, was to suppress an insurrection which had broken out in Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, through the intrigues of Horatius; which having effected, and ordered Horatius to be executed, he marched against the Wallachians, whom he reduced to obedience. Being, however, again induced to revolt, on offers of assistance from the Tartars, Sigismund took the field; and after gaining a signal victory, the whole country submitted. Upon the death of Mary, Ladislaus king of Poland claimed the crown of Hungary, in right of his wife; but the passes being guarded by the bishop of Strigonia, he in vain attempted the invasion of the country, and was obliged to relinquish his attempt. Sigismund had now, however, a more serious enemy to encounter. His country was invaded by Bajazet emperor of the Turks, who, after a most desperate engagement, completely defeated the Hungarian army, principally through the imprudent ardour of the French auxiliaries; and Sigismund himself with difficulty escaped in an open boat. Fortune did not become more favourable to Sigismund upon his return to Hungary; for he was seized and imprisoned by a faction which had determined to call Ladislaus, king of Naples, to the crown, and he accordingly took possession of the kingdom.

Sigismund having, however, recovered his liberty, raised a great army in Bohemia, and marched into Hungary. Ladislaus having fled on his approach, he regained his crown, and immediately proclaimed a general pardon, with the exception of a very few. In the year 1410

Sigismund was elected emperor of Germany, and presided at the council of Constance, by which John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were ordered to be burnt. On the death of his brother Wenceslaus, he also succeeded to the crown of Bohemia, in which kingdom he was six times defeated by the Hussites, who had taken up arms to revenge the death of their master, and maintain their liberty of conscience. He was however able successfully to repel all the incursions of the Turks, who had ravaged the frontiers of Hungary.

Sigismund died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign in Hungary; and Albert duke of Austria, his son-in-law, succeeded him. Albert was soon after elected emperor, and also king of Bohemia. Upon his return to Buda, after marching against the Turks, who had advanced into Hungary, but retreated on his approach, he died of a dysentery occasioned by eating too freely of melons. Albert was succeeded by his posthumous son Ladislaus, at the early age of four months, and two governors were appointed to protect the kingdom during his minority. Uladislaus, king of Poland, having however claimed the crown, a civil war broke out, which was attended with the most fatal consequences to both parties; but it was at length agreed that the king of Poland should govern the kingdom during the minority, and that the former should marry Elizabeth, the sister of Ladislaus. By the sudden death of Elizabeth, the flames of war were rekindled; nor was it till the most urgent necessity compelled both kingdoms to turn their arms against the Turks, that an

A. D. 1438.

arrangement was acceded to, at the solicitation of the cardinal Julian, and the bishop of Agria.

Amurath, after besieging Belgrade in vain, was three times defeated by the Hungarian generals, notwithstanding which he made the most vigorous preparations for the succeeding campaign; but a crusade against this common enemy of Europe having been preached by order of the pope, the Hungarian army was reinforced by numbers of volunteers, and the Turks received two most signal defeats. This continued ill success at last induced Amurath to conclude a treaty with Hungary for ten years; but Uladislaus being prevailed upon to break this treaty at the instigation of the cardinal Julian, renewed the war, and after marching with an uninterrupted success to Varna, was there, after a most obstinate resistance, completely defeated, and himself killed. Corvin, however, who had been before so successful against the Turks, rallied the scattered remains of the army, and having recruited his forces, marched towards Servia, where passing the Save in the night, and attacking the Turkish camp, he gained a most signal victory.

The states being now deprived of their nominal king, resolved to send for young Ladislaus from Germany: but the emperor Frederick refusing to give up his pupil, Corvin was chosen governor, and lost no time in marching against the Turks. The two armies engaged in Servia, when the action continued the whole day; but the Hungarians were finally defeated, after repulsing five different bodies of the enemy, and dining and supping in the field. The battle

continued for two days, and Corvin himself, in attempting to escape, fell into the hands of the despot, George, and was obliged to leave his son as a hostage to obtain his release. In the following campaign, Corvin was more successful, having completely defeated the Turks near Chrysonicum, and one of his commanders in the same year repelled an invasion from Austria.

In the year 1452 the demands to the emperor Frederick, to deliver up young Ladislaus, were so powerful, that he at length consented, and Corvin was again appointed governor of Hungary during the minority. Three years afterwards, Mahomet II. being elated with the conquest of Constantinople, invaded Hungary with a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men; but Corvin, having defeated his fleet on the Danube, threw himself into Belgrade; which he defended with so much valour, that Mahomet, after continuing a month before the town, and his troops having actually penetrated to the market place in a general assault, was repulsed with the loss of forty thousand men, and most of his artillery, himself being carried half dead to his camp, and soon after obliged to raise the siege. Corvin died, full of years and of glory, a few days after this signal victory; when Ladislaus succeeded to the throne, but died suddenly of a colick.

Mathias, son of Corvin, was now declared king, and after engaging in a war with the Bohemians, who were obliged to submit to his own terms, marched into Bosnia, and recovered Jaza, the capital, which had been surprised by the Turks. He afterwards quelled a revolt of the Transylvanians; but A. D. 1457.

being attacked in the night in the city Bania, the victory seems to have been doubtful; Mathias, in the beginning of the action, being wounded in the back with an arrow, the head of which continued in the wound four years.

A. D. 1468. Mathias having agreed to a truce with the Turks, marched with an army against George Podiebrad, in order to obtain possession of the kingdom of Bohemia, which the pope had offered him; but Hungary being invaded by the Poles, and a formidable insurrection of the nobles, who were displeased with Mathias's arbitrary government, breaking out, he was obliged to turn his attention to its suppression, in which he succeeded; and a peace was shortly after agreed upon, by which Moravia and Silesia were confirmed to Mathias, and Bohemia and Lusatia left to Uladislaus, son of the king of Poland, who had been chosen king by the Bohemian states. In the mean time, those faithless enemies, the Turks, had renewed hostilities, subdued Transylvania, ravaged Dalmatia and Croatia, made incursions as far as Frioul, and continued inroads into Hungary. Notwithstanding these daring attacks, Mathias neglecting to oppose their encroachments, declared war against the emperor, who had begun to commit hostilities in Upper Hungary. Success however soon favoured Mathias, having taken Vienna, and conquered all Lower Austria, which obliged the emperor to conclude a peace, by which he renounced all right to Austria, and promised to pay a hundred and thirty thousand crowns for the charges of the war. Mathias died the following year of an apoplexy, at Vienna, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and

the thirty-third of his reign. He left behind him a great character, as well for his love of learning as for his abilities in war.

Notwithstanding the competition of several rival candidates, Uladislaus king of Bohemia, was declared king, and with the assistance of the nobles, speedily suppressed the opposition which his competitors threatened. Uladislaus soon sunk into indolence and sloth, by which the kingdom was not only exposed to foreign enemies, but harassed by intestine divisions. The nobles, also, soon lost all respect or attachment to a king whom, for his bulk and inactivity, they called an ox. He concluded a treaty with the Turks for three years, and also an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and Sigismund king of Poland. In the following year Uladislaus died, after a reign of twenty-five years. A. D. 1490.

His son and successor, Lewis, had been crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia, when an infant; and being now upon his accession only thirteen years of age, the affairs of the kingdom were administered by Stephen Bathori. The education of Lewis had been totally neglected; his time had been spent in the amusements of dancing, and other frivolous accomplishments; by which he had acquired a total aversion to business. The nobles imitated the manners of their sovereign, neglected their study of arms, and with their king seemed to be lost in luxury and security. They were, however, soon awakened from their dream, only to be made to feel the consequences of their own supineness; Solyman entered Hungary with his army, laid siege to Belgrade, which soon A. D. 1516.

surrendered, and passed the Drave with an army of three hundred thousand men and three hundred pieces of cannon. Lewis at last marched against them, with an army of only twenty-five thousand men, and after an hour's engagement, was totally defeated; most of the nobles being killed, and Lewis himself drowned in the Danube. The Turks now ravaged the whole of Upper and Lower Hungary without interruption, and after satiating themselves with plunder, returned home. Hungary may date the decline of its grandeur from this invasion, in which more than two hundred thousand men are said to have fallen; and Lewis dying without issue, Ferdinand, of the House of Austria, afterwards emperor, got possession of the crown, which the Austrian family have ever since retained.

A.D. 1550. The transactions of this kingdom are from this period, related in the history of the Empire.

THE UNITED PROVINCES,

OR

REPUBLICK OF HOLLAND.

CHAP. I.

General Description.—Character, Religion, Government, and Commerce, of the United States; and the Rise and Establishment of the Dutch East-India Company.

THE United Provinces, or Republick of Holland, are composed of the northern part of the Netherlands, bordered to the south by Flanders, Brabant, Flemish Guelderland, and the dutchy of Cleves; on the east, the frontiers extend to the territory of Embden and the bishoprick of Munster; while some portion of the northern skirts, and the whole western coast, are washed by the German Ocean. The country is completely divided by rivers, canals, and lakes; to the happy disposition of which, the inhabitants are in a great measure indebted for their prosperity. Domestick industry is promoted by the facility of carriage; and, as the territory lies in the centre of Europe, commanding the entrance and navigation of several of the great rivers of Germany, it is admirably adapted either for foreign or domestick trade, the former of which is absolutely necessary, from the small

proportion of fertile soil to the number of inhabitants. The marshes, lakes, and rivers, however, with which it is intersected, joined to the low situation of the country near the sea, render the atmosphere damp, foggy, and unhealthy: mountains there are none, excepting in Guelderland. The principal rivers are the Rhine, the Mæse, and the Scheld. The Mæse forms the boundaries between Guelderland and Brabant: opposite to Dort, it divides into two branches, one of which runs past Rotterdam: these unite at Vlaar Dingen, and discharge into the North Sea. No part of the continent, of equal extent, contains half the number of beautiful cities, towns, and villages, all distinguished by an air of neatness and cleanliness peculiar to Holland. Every street, and almost every farm, are bordered by a canal; ships and houses are every where blended, and half the people seem to live upon the water. Several inconveniencies, however, attend the natural situation of the provinces: to fertilize the soil, it is usual to open the sluices, at certain seasons, and overflow great part of the country; when the waters are drawn off, which is done by windmills acting on pumps, quantities of mud necessarily remain; which impregnate the air with noxious exhalations, and produce various diseases. These fatal effects of a necessary precaution are, however, considerably corrected, by frequent sharp and keen easterly winds, which purify the air; but, from their suddenness and severity, prove dangerous to the human constitution. The long and vigorous frosts, which shut up the canals, are great obstructions to commerce; and the extreme flatness of the lands considerably below the

level of the waters, renders it necessary to secure them from inundation, by vast dykes kept in repair at a prodigious expense.

The manners of the people, like those of every other nation, are influenced by the climate and the nature of the government. Cold, phlegmatick, and sordid, they prosecute every measure with indefatigable perseverance, and accomplish the most arduous attempts without a spark of genius. By the single virtue of patience, they have become proficients in science and the arts. Holland has produced poets, some good painters in certain lines, and sculptors; and wits of the first class have appeared, like grapes in Siberia, contrary to the usual course of nature. In general, every passion, every appetite, except that of gain, seems extinct; quarrels are seldom seen, unless occasioned by intoxication; jealousy is never felt, and love unknown among Dutchmen. The dullness and insensibility of the Batavians, were proverbial among the ancients; and their descendants are no less distinguished by the moderns for their want of feeling, of refinement, and of passion; in a word, invincible patience, and an invariable attachment to self-interest, are the lineaments that distinguish and mark the character of a Hollander. It must, however, be admitted that they possess personal bravery; their seamen have always been distinguished for steady courage, and have more than once baffled the daring spirit of the English navy. Europe cannot boast of a statesman superior to De Wit; a more learned and ingenius jurist than Grotius; or a greater ornament to literature than Erasmus.

The government of the republick is not less peculiar, than the temper of the inhabitants. Caution and phlegmatick prudence are prominent in their tedious deliberations, and a solicitous and unyielding regard to freedom, in every part of the constitution, which is composed of seven sovereign provinces, each enjoying its own independent privileges. The state may thus be viewed as a confederacy, united by one common interest, and founded upon the league formed at Utrecht, to oppose the tyranny and oppression of Philip II. Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overyssel, Groningen, and Friezland, are all separate republicks, acknowledging no authority, and subordinate to no other power than that vested in their particular states; even the provinces are divided into smaller republicks: every city enjoys certain sovereign privileges; and, in the provincial states, resolutions are formed, not by a majority, but a concurrence of voices. The provincial states cannot seize an offender, pardon a crime, or frame laws within the jurisdiction of a city: every thing relative to itself, and unconnected with the rest of the provinces, is transacted by its own magistrates, the sovereign authority being vested in the magistracy of each city. The office of senator continues for life; and, formerly, the members of this supreme court were elected by the freemen and burghers; but now the power of supplying vacancies is in the standing senate; from whence arises the aristocratical government which prevails in each city. Without descending to a minute description of each city office, it may be sufficient to observe, that burgomasters are elected by a ma-

jority of voices in the senate; they preside by turns, represent the dignity of the government, and support the honour of the city: they dispose of all inferior offices, and issue money from the common treasury, for the safety, convenience, and expenses of the city. Although an office of great trust, dignity, and authority, the salary scarce amounts to sixty pounds per annum; nor do the burgomasters assume any other state than that of ordinary citizens, either in their habits, attendance, tables, or any part of their domestick conduct.

The sovereign power is lodged in the provincial states, composed of deputies chosen by the senate; to whom an appeal lies in certain cases, from the city judicatures. In Holland, and it is similar in all the other provinces, the sovereignty is vested in nineteen deputies, chosen out of the nobility, the senators, and magistrates; the nobles having only one voice, and the cities eighteen. Amsterdam enjoys no more than the smallest cities, a single voice. The influence of the nobility, though possessing only one voice, is very considerable; the first employments, civil and military, the direction of the ecclesiastical revenue, the right of sending deputies to the states-general, and the appointment of a counsellor in the two supreme courts of judicature, being vested in them. The pensioner of Holland, who assists at the previous deliberations, delivers the votes and sentiments of the nobility. He is but the servant of the province, notwithstanding the great credit of his office, and takes place behind all the deputies; but, notwithstanding, possesses the greatest consequence in the republick, from the

perpetual duration of his employment, the seat he holds in the several provincial assemblies, collecting the opinions, digesting resolutions, proposing all subjects of deliberation, and assuming a power of determining whether any important affair, in which the benefit of the state highly depends, shall be concluded by a majority of voices or not. There is no certain rule for the sitting of the states in all the provinces. In Holland, they assemble at the Hague, in the months of February, June, September, and November. In the three first sessions, all vacancies are supplied, forms renewed, taxes adjusted, and the general good and regulation of the province is debated. The last sitting is expressly confined to determine the proportion of charges to be supported by the province, with respect to the whole republick. The commissioned counsellors, composed of a deputy from the nobles, one from each of the principal cities, and one from every three of the lesser towns, on extraordinary occasions, convoke the principal states. They also sit constantly at the Hague, prepare business for the provincial states, and execute their resolutions. The general revenues are managed by a chamber of accounts, who have also the absolute direction of the ancient demesnes, without any control.

The union of the seven United Provinces may be justly compared to the league of several princes, formed for their mutual safety, defence, and repose: the sovereignty of each is preserved, while they enter upon engagements peculiar to the confederacy; by treaty they are united into one body, but separated by particular privileges. No individual state can impose laws or interfere in

the government of another, but is absolute within its own jurisdiction, not interfering with the league. It has been supposed that the states-general are possessed of sovereign authority, being composed of deputies from the provinces, forming the republick, and receiving ambassadors; but the office of deputy is only for a limitted time, the period of which is fixed by the provinces, and they are incapable of coming to any decision without consulting and receiving the authority of their constituents. Three several colleges are formed from the deputies, the states-general, the council of state, and the chamber of accounts, which are to the republick, what the departments of the same names are to each province. The provinces send two or more members at pleasure; and resolutions are formed, not upon the voices of the deputies, but upon the votes of the provinces. They all differ in the time for which the deputies are appointed; some are for a year, and others for life. Every province presides in turn for a week, and is represented by the best qualified among its deputies. The president sits at the middle of a long table; the greffier or secretary, at the bottom; and a foreign ambassador, at an audience, takes his place opposite the president. The greffier reads all papers, proposes the question, calls the votes, and the president concludes; and, in case he refuses determining by a majority, his place is filled by the ensuing president. All common affairs are conducted in this manner; but upon questions of peace or war, foreign alliances, raising or coining money, or the privileges of the provinces, then each member of the Union must be consulted, his assent ob-

tained, and nothing determined but by the majority.

The council of state is composed of deputies from each province, in which the number is fixed and invariable. Holland sends three; Guelderland, Zealand, and Utrecht, two each; Friezland, Groningen, and Overyssel, one each; making together twelve members. The numbers, not the provinces, here decide, and they preside by turns. This council formerly possessed the power of assembling the states-general, of representing them during the recess, of executing their resolutions, and judging of the necessity of their meeting. The great authority, however, of this council, which, to prolong and augment its power, seldom convoked the states-general, induced the provincial states, on the Earl of Leicester's resignation, to obtain the power of continuing the states-general by their respective deputies. The business of the council may be reduced to five classes: first, on the security and defence of the state; second, on the operations of war; third, on the orders for marching troops, and their military discipline; fourth, the superintendance and fortifications of the magazines; and, fifth, the administration of the finances, and the proportion of the respective provinces towards the expense. With respect to war, the council always consults with the states-general, except when secrecy and dispatch are necessary. As to fortifications, the power of the council extends only to places conquered since the union of Utrecht, and the provinces of Overyssel and Guelderland, which are deemed the frontiers. At the close of the year, the council forms an estimate of the supplies for

the ensuing year, which they submit to the states-general, who may either refuse compliance, or impose it upon the provinces. The stadtholder has a seat and vote in this council, but is excluded the presidency: and the treasurer general has a seat, but only a deliberative voice.

To ease the council of state, the chamber of accounts was erected in the year 1607, confirmed in 1622, and considerably extended in 1651. It is composed of two deputies from each province, making in all fourteen, and states and examines the accounts of the receivers, passes the admiralty accounts, and registers the financial edicts of the council of state.

The absolute direction of naval affairs is vested in the council of admiralty. When a fleet is destined upon any enterprise, all the rest devolves upon the admiralty, which is divided into five departments. Holland has three of these courts; Zealand one, and Friezland another; each composed of seven deputies, four from the province where the council resides, and three from the other provinces. The admiral, or, in his absence, the vice-admiral, presides; and, beside the regulation and equipment of the navy, the admiralty are charged with the cognizance of all crimes committed on the seas, or evasions in the payment of duties. The revenue arising from commerce is wholly appropriated to the purposes of the navy. The precaution of the government against corruption or bias from other attachment, is strongly displayed in the law, that no person related in the third degree, or influenced by dependency, can ever be a member of the admiralty. All petitions for the abo-

lition of this regulation have been constantly rejected. A deputy must swear that he is elected by fair suffrage, and without corruption; that he will obey the orders of the provincial and states-general, and promote, without attachment to any particular province, the good of the whole.

The dignity of stadtholder, though not essential to the government, is yet important to its security. It owes its birth to the tediousness of the deliberations of the government; to remedy which, a stadtholder was appointed, as formerly a dictator at Rome, to answer present exigencies. The long war with Philip II. required a head for the infant republick to support her tottering liberty, and resist the efforts of the powerful House of Austria. William the Great, and first Prince of Orange, appeared to all the best adapted to answer these purposes. He was governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; his abilities had stood the test, and his detestation of tyranny, and ardent love of freedom, had rendered him the dearest favourite of the publick. Never was any person better fitted than the Prince of Orange for the difficult situation in which he was placed, or better qualified for the arduous task of delivering an injured people from the yoke of their oppressor. He was possessed of vigilance, application, penetration, and sagacity, joined with a peculiar dexterity in governing the inclinations of men, and in conciliating and preserving their affections. He had exposed himself to the greatest dangers in the publick service; had formed the noblest designs, and executed them with vigour and intrepidity, which justly entitled him to the character of a

statesman, a hero, and a patriot. These qualities, and the exigencies of the times, raised William to the rank of stadtholder, by virtue of which he was captain-general of the forces by sea and land; disposed of all commissions; directed the operations of war, and led the troops in battle; had a seat, but not a voice, in the states-general, and was president of the council of state. The only control to this authority was a council composed of deputies from the states-general and the council of state, attending him in the field, and concerting the operations of the campaign. Such was the origin and the authority of the office of stadtholder. The alterations which late events have effected in the constitution of this country, will be noticed when we come to treat of its recent history.

The prodigious commercial power and wealth to which the United Provinces once attained, affords still greater cause for astonishment and surprise, than the texture of the constitution, the nature of the country, and the disposition of the people. It is a just remark, that the most fruitful countries are seldom the richest; for the necessaries of life growing almost spontaneously, supersede in a great degree the necessity of labour. In the poverty of the United Provinces we find the cause of the vast strides they made to opulence and grandeur. The produce of the country, which is chiefly pasture, is very inadequate to the number of the inhabitants. Of the seven, only three are maritime provinces, fit for the purposes of commerce. Not a single material for ship-building is produced in the Netherlands, and the Dutch are forced to pene-

trate even to the Frozen Zone for the requisites of navigation: even their harbours are incommodious. From Poland and the other northern countries they were, for a long time, supplied with the necessaries of life; and are still supported by traffick. No country in Europe is more heavily loaded with taxes; a duty, to support the unavoidable expenses of government, being imposed upon every commodity. War, the cruellest foe to industry, has proved advantageous to Holland. During a bloody contest of forty years, the republick attained to the highest pitch of grandeur, and launched out in the pursuit of commerce and navagation. Civil wars, commotions, and religious persecutions, in the neighbouring kingdoms, crowded the provinces with ingenious mechanicks and able artists, being here able to indulge liberty of conscience, and enjoy the fruits of industry, in security and repose. New manufactures sprung up every day, and schemes too vast for induvidual speculation, were accomplished by the union of the speculators. The destruction of Antwerp, by opening markets before wholly engrossed by that opulent city, proved highly advantageous to Holland. When Philip the Second got possession of Portugal, he forbade all intercourse between that country and his rebellious subjects; but that step, instead of answering the king's design, proved highly beneficial to the latter: it gave a spur to their industry, and forced them to attempt a direct trade with the East-Indies. Having so long acted as carriers for the Portuguese, in distributing the rich productions of the east over the northern countries, they well knew where to find the speediest sale, and

that the demand for them was every year increasing; nor could they doubt, from their superior naval power, of being able to deprive the Portuguese of this profitable trade, before they could form the establishments necessary for carrying it on. The difficulties which presented themselves would have been sufficient to have deterred a less persevering nation. They had to perform a voyage of several thousand leagues, and visit countries of which they were almost entirely ignorant; besides, after their arrival there, having to enter into a competition with a bold and enterprising nation, already in possession, and protected by a considerable military force. To shorten their voyage, they first made three ineffectual attempts to discover a northern passage, which, like all other attempts of the same kind, proving fruitless, they determined at once to attempt the voyage by the accustomed route. When deliberating on the subject, some merchants of Amsterdam received an application from one Cornelius Houtman, a native of Flanders, then imprisoned for debt in Lisbon; who, having made several voyages with the Portuguese to India, was well acquainted with the navigation and the nature of the trade, and offered, in case of his being released, to undertake, in person, the conduct of their ships. The merchants, perceiving him to be a man of penetration and abilities, immediately formed an association, which they named the Company of Distant Countries, and equipped a squadron consisting of four ships, which they put under his command. The value of the whole was estimated at four hundred thousand florins, having two hundred and fifty men on board, and one

hundred pieces of cannon furnished by the states, besides naval and military stores, and a variety of merchandize suited to the taste of the Indian nations. The principal object of this expedition being to obtain information concerning the country, and the different branches of trade, Houtman was instructed to avoid, as much as possible, the Portuguese settlements, and to abstain from all hostilities not necessary for defence.

He visited the coasts of Africa and Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, the isles of Madagascar and St. Mary, Sumatra, and Java; in which, having purchased pepper and other spices, the jealousy of the Portuguese began to be alarmed, and they resolved to exert themselves to effect his ruin. They represented the Dutch to the king of Bantam as pirates, and the common enemies of the human race; and advised him, which they enforced by valuable presents, to cut them off when few in number, and prevent their return. The ignorant and credulous governor listened to these insinuations, but distrusting his ability to destroy them by open force, resolved to employ treachery. For this purpose, he pretended an inclination to form a commercial treaty, and Houtman and one or two of his officers, having accepted an invitation to come to his palace to arrange the terms, were immediately taken into custody; and were actually detained in prison, until the Dutch ships began to cannonade, and had laid part of the town in ruins.

Houtman finding, on his release, that his men were diminished nearly one third of their number, ordered one of his ships to be burnt, and

sailed to Europe with the rest, carrying with him natives of several places at which he had touched; and after a prosperous voyage, arrived in the Texel in the month of August, 1597, having been absent about two years and a half. Although he brought home scarcely sufficient wealth to defray the expenses of the equipment, yet the information he had procured, and the declining power of the Portuguese, raised the hopes of his employers to the utmost height. Before the end of the year more than eighty ships, completely equipped, and furnished with different articles of commerce, were sent out; some to the East Indies, some to the West, and to the coasts of Africa, while others were ordered to attempt the passage by the Straits of Magellan, into the Pacifick Ocean. It was not only the dangers of long and difficult voyages which the Dutch had to encounter; but, after their arrival, they found it necessary to fight and negociate by turns, and had the prejudices of the natives to overcome. Their conduct was, under the circumstances, wise and prudent. They convinced the natives of the injurious aspersions cast upon their character; and by moderation, justice, and humanity, proved that in purity, both of manners and dealings, they were much superior to their accusers. The consequence inevitably was, that they were allowed to trade to many places; and, in a short time, procured admission to several of the most important branches of commerce. Although some of the many voyages had proved unfortunate, yet they were, upon the whole, sufficiently successful to amply remunerate the adventurers, and render it their interest to persevere. But the rapid in-

crease of this branch of trade, soon produced complaints that too great a number had engaged in it; and that consequently, as they were compelled to pay much higher prices, so they found it necessary to sell much cheaper. If the evil complained of, which could hardly have been expected in the commencement of a trade attended with so much expense and danger, had been the only reason for the interposition of the states, it may be questioned whether they were justified in their interference; but there was another reason of still greater weight: the Portuguese, being under the direction of viceroys, could more easily act in concert, than the independent Dutch adventurers; and their small fleets, or single ships, were exposed to the danger of being separately attacked and destroyed by the enemy. Determined by these considerations, the states-general, in the year 1602, united the several societies of traders into one body, under the name of the East-India Company; on which, besides the power of trading within certain limits, they conferred the power of administering justice, of building forts, of appointing governors and garrisons, of raising troops, and of making peace and war with the Indian princes. A fund of more than six millions of florins was immediately subscribed by the principal merchants; and managers were appointed, under whose direction all the trade to India was to be henceforth carried on. This company being the first regular commercial society known in history, has in some measure served as a model for all the trading companies which have been created in modern times. It consisted chiefly of the former private adventurers, who, profit-

ing by their errors, and perfectly understanding the trade, conducted the affairs with most consummate skill; nor was their good fortune inferior to the prudence which they displayed. They were every where received with favour, and obtained permission to establish factories, and build forts, for their protection. Their assistance to expel the Portuguese was even requested, and they made innumerable captures of their richest ships. Their trade was every year extended, and their profits greater than from any other branch of commerce. From this arrangement, the capital of the company rose in the short space of six years, from its original amount, to six millions sterling, after clearing all charges: and, though the profits have been long, from various causes, greatly diminished, yet the Dutch East-India Company has, till within a very recent period, constituted a powerful state of itself, taken independently of the republick of the United Provinces. The success of the fisheries, of the Levant trade, begun under the auspices of Henry IV. of France, and of the East-India company, gave birth to a similar establishment for conducting the trade to the West-Indies. The company commenced with unexpected success; but the large dividends made, the eager pursuit of conquest, and the neglect of the regular course of traffick, ruined that commerce. The Dutch were driven out of the Brazils, whence the Portuguese drew such immense treasures; but the West-India company have, till lately, continued possessed of several important settlements. The Dutch had once another, and not less copious, source of trade in their cod and herring fishery, on the

coasts of England and the Netherlands; but since the English government has turned their attention to that fertile source of profit, the Dutch trade has greatly diminished. Next to that of Great-Britain, the commerce of the United Provinces is certainly the greatest of any European power.

By the treaty of union signed at Utrecht, every province was left at liberty to regulate the affairs of religion in the manner most conducive to its interest; with this sole condition, that no man should be oppressed on account of his religious tenets, and that all should remain free in point of conscience. In 1583, however, the Calvinists, being the superior number, procured an act declaring the evangelical doctrine the publick religion, and enjoining that it alone should be professed in the Seven Provinces: but sound policy has induced the government to wink at infractions of this law; to favour no curious inquiries into the faith of any man, to offer no violence to conscience, and to afford the protection of the laws to every industrious subject, whose opinions do not break out into expressions and actions prejudicial to society. The Roman Catholick religion is alone excepted from the common protection; while Jews, Anabaptists, Arminians, Brownists, and Familists, are allowed the exercise of their several doctrines. At Amsterdam every sect almost in the world has its publick meetings. The Calvinists, however, compose the body of the people: they are possessed of all the authorized churches in the dominions of the republick, and their clergy are maintained by certain salaries paid by the states, without tithes, lands, or contributions on the

people. Thus freedom of sentiment has tended to populate the country, and softened all the acrimony and rancour that disturbs the tranquillity of other nations, poisons society, and produces effects the most opposite to the dictates of true religion. Ambition and faction are here disabled from concealing their seditious designs and selfish resolutions, under the mask of religion. In Holland alone, the difference of religion makes none in affection; Jews and Christians live in the strictest ties of amity: they argue without resentment, and they dissent without enmity. All are citizens associated by the bans of society and government, under the impartial protection of equitable laws; and due encouragement is given to genius and industry, without distinction of doctrine or party.

CHAP. II.

The Ancient State of the Seven United Provinces, until the Accession of the House of Austria.

BATAVIA.

JULIUS Cæsar having experienced the valour of the ancient Batavians, who inhabited this country, employed them successfully against the Gauls; and they justified his opinion, having every where routed and dispersed that ferocious and warlike people. Their cavalry bore the highest reputation, and the infantry fought with the same order, discipline, and intrepidity, in the waters and marshes, as upon the dry land. Even the conquering Romans dreaded their resentment, and they finally became the body guard of the emperors, who reposed equal confidence in their fidelity and courage; and though Galba dismissed them from this trust, it was with marks of favour and esteem. In all important and dangerous expeditions, where obstinate boldness was required, they were selected, and they generally composed the forlorn of the Roman army, sustained the first shock, and made the first attack, with an impetuosity and a firmness peculiar to themselves. They were exempt from all imposts, in consequence of bearing the honourable title of allies of the Empire; and the inhabitants of Betaw, an island formed by the Rhine and the Waal, obtained the

appellation of the friends and brethren of the Romans. Their government seems to have been monarchical, and it is conjectured that Clodius Civilis was descended from their kings. He was the hero, whose patriotick eloquence roused the Batavians to throw off the Roman subjection; whose courage obtained many victories over the Roman general, Cerealis; and whose valour shone more bright and conspicuous in adversity, after he had been defeated by the German legions. The Batavians, with the rest of the empire, fell under the power of the Franks, and were governed by Charlemagne and his descendants, until, upon the decline of that house, the great lords and officers of the crown, taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning princes, rendered their governments hereditary in their families.

The provinces of the Netherlands, after this, experienced frequent revolutions. They were sometimes distinct, and independent on each other, then united in one monarchy under the same prince. Some provinces had kings, some were under the government of dukes, and others subject to counts. Friezland might be termed a kingdom; Brabant and Guelderland were dukedoms, and Holland and Flanders counties. Utrecht was a bishoprick; the prelates of which became generals and sovereigns, wielding the sword and sceptre oftener than the crozier.

Sir William Temple is of opinion, that the provinces of Holland and Groningen were not formerly separated by the Zuyder Zee; and that all that tract of land now overflowed by the sea, might formerly have consisted of low swampy marshes. This conjecture is strengthened by

the number of islands and sand-banks that blocked up the passage into the bay.

A. D. 868. The first count of Holland was Thieri, general to Charles the Bald. He was invested with that dignity by the sovereign, in opposition to the wishes of the people, who hazarded a battle in defence of their liberties, but were defeated. After a second rebellion, Charles, to confirm the count in his new dignity, put to death every man who possessed any authority in the country.

A. D. 1047. The next count, of whom we have any history, is Thieri, marquis of Vlaerding, supposed to have been a descendant of the first count. His ambition involved him in a war with the emperor Henry, out of which his spirited conduct extricated him with honour and advantage. Thieri died of a wound which he received from a poisoned arrow, in a battle which he fought with the bishops of Liege and Cologne, whose brother he had killed at a tournament. His brother Florence succeeded him, and again defeated the bishops, but was wounded in the pursuit, and died a few days afterwards. Both Thieri and his brother Florence were ambitious, warlike princes, and greatly extended their territories, but involved themselves in a war with the emperor, by denying his sovereignty over the province of Holland. Florence dying during the minority of his children, his widow Gertrude conducted the reins of government with so much address, that she obtained a peace equally advantageous and honourable. The history is at this period involved in almost total obscurity, until the province came under the dominion of the House of Burgundy.

Though the dignity of count was hereditary, yet, before they entered upon the government, the approbation of the barons, the chief lords and the people, was required, to whom they swore to observe all their rights and privileges. After they had taken the oaths, the people immediately paid the taxes imposed for the support of their authority, which in general were very moderate. The females succeeded in default of the male line, by which the provinces frequently passed into foreign families by marriages. At the death of William IV. without issue, his sister Margaret annexed Holland to the dominions of her husband, the elector of Bavaria. When the dukes of Burgundy became sovereigns of the Netherlands, they altered the form of government, by appointing a court for the government of each city, and a stadtholder in every province to administer justice. They also established that parties might appeal from the decisions of the councils of the several provinces, to the tribunal of Mechlin, which was instituted, in order to unite the provinces more closely, and to give them the greater appearance of one state.

The sovereignty of the whole Netherlands passed from the family of Burgundy, into that of Austria, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bald, and sole heiress of his dominions, with Maximilian, son of Frederick III. emperor of Germany.

GUELDERLAND.

IT is to the honour of this province, that it was the last to receive the Roman yoke, and the first that asserted its liberties upon the decline of the empire. Charlemagne bestowed extraordinary privileges upon Nimeguen, the capital of the province. The government passed from father to son, yet it was in fact elective; and the people called the governors tutors, implying that they elected them for their defence and security. During the administration of Otho, count of Nassau, Guelderland was erected into an earldom by the emperor Henry III.; and in the year 1320 was raised into a dutchy by an edict of the emperor Lewis, of Bavaria. The government continued in the family of Nassau, until the marriage of Margaret (to whom the dutchy had devolved), with William duke of Juliers, upon the death of whose brother and successor it passed into that of Egmont. Adolphus having married the sister of Charles, duke of Burgundy, upon the death of his father and brother-in-law united the dominions of Burgundy, Guelderland, and Zutphen, in his own person. His son Charles succeeded him, who was taken prisoner and detained fourteen years by the Austrians, during which time his aunt was acknowledged sovereign over the people. On procuring his release, his subjects received him with open arms, and indeed his conduct merited their utmost attachment and fidelity. His whole administration was spirited

and vigorous, but he was at length obliged to yield to the irresistible power of the emperor Charles V. by which means Guelderland passed from the House of Bourbon into the Austrian family.

ZEALAND.

THE earls of Holland had the sovereignty of this province at a very early period. The two provinces were always united under the same governors, and they had the same stadtholder when the revolt of the Netherlands produced the Union of Utrecht. It is therefore, of course, included in the ancient History of Holland.

UTRECHT.

THE province of Utrecht has experienced four different forms of government; being first dependent on the dukes of Friezland, and the next ecclesiastical. Charles V. effected the third revolution, rendering himself absolute sovereign. The last change was the general union of the Seven Provinces. Pepin Heristal was the first asserter of the liberties of Utrecht, which, until his time, was subject to Friezland. With the view of engaging the clergy to his interest, he assembled an eccle- A. D. 692.

siastical council, proposing to govern the province by states, in which the clergy should have voices. Nothing can more strongly demonstrate the wisdom of this establishment than its continuance under Charlemagne and his successors; and to this state we are obliged for the excellent collection of the ancient laws of the Franks. Pepin's soul seemed animated with general philanthropy; and, not satisfied with diffusing general happiness through his own dominions, he sent missionaries to convert the idolatrous Friezlanders to christianity. Utrecht was erected into an episcopal see by pope Sergius; and the industry and zeal of the early bishops were increased by the ambition of extending their jurisdiction. The superstition of the people so greatly favoured this design, that the bishop became in a short time a powerful temporal prince, able to oppose not only the most formidable of the surrounding states, but even the emperor himself.

A. D. 995. Towards the close of the tenth century, the Normans invaded this province, in which nothing sacred or profane escaped their fury: the city and cathedral were reduced to a heap of ruins; but Baldrick, then bishop, soon restored both, and rendered the city the capital of Holland. Baldrick was the first bishop who coined money by authority.

Adelbold, his successor, according to some historians, was the first bishop who made use of his sword; but many prelates were certainly engaged in wars at a much earlier period. Adelbold's example was adopted by his successors, who made equal use of spiritual and temporal

weapons to extend their authority. The consequences were however serious, an election being seldom unattended with bloodshed, one candidate or the other always claiming the interference of the neighbouring earls.

The magistracy of Utrecht continued in nearly the same state until the accession of William of Nassau, the most illustrious prelate of his age, though his ignorance was so great that the pope refused him a bull at a time when no large share of learning was required as a qualification for a bishoprick. His constant disputes with his neighbours and his own subjects at last produced so general a rebellion, that he was compelled to renounce his dignity, the legislative power being established in the people, and the artizans and mechanicks divided into companies, with a vote in the elections of magistrates. A. D. 1288.

William of Mechlin made bold but unsuccessful efforts to restore the episcopal authority. He waged war upon his subjects, and, often victorious and often vanquished, he fell at last in battle, leaving the people in full possession of their liberties and the supreme authority. His successor, neither enterprising nor ambitious, died when he had scarcely signed the charters confirming the privileges of the people. This event was interpreted by the succeeding bishops as a judgment from heaven, to avenge the impious surrender of the church's rights. Their attempt to recover them produced long and desperate struggles with the people, until the prudence of Philip of Burgundy in some degree quieted them. Having A. D. 1500.

been bred at Court, Philip was equally respectable for his discretion, and formidable by his valour. The troops of France and Guelderland experienced his ability in the field, and he deserved the praises which Erasmus has bestowed upon him. His amours, however, drew upon him the heavy censures of the church.

A. D. 1524. The bishops of Utrecht had hitherto been the friends and allies of the imperial crown; but Charles V. had determined to have the sovereignty for himself, and an opportunity soon offered. The Hollanders, instead of obeying the bishop's summons to appear before him, for permitting clandestine marriages, appealed to the emperor, who espoused their cause. The bishop's ambition did not however stop here, having excited the resentment of the people so greatly by encroaching on their privileges, that they shut their gates and denied him entrance. A bloody war was the consequence; but the bishop being soon unable to pay his troops, Charles, like a true politician, furnished the sum required, on condition that the bishop ceded to him the sovereignty of Utrecht and its dependencies. The people, incensed at this proceeding, deposed the bishop, and elected another; but, notwithstanding their invincible spirits, a body of imperial forces being introduced privately into the city, the bishop returned, and made his publick entrance. He then proposed to the clergy and council the necessity of ceding entirely the sovereignty to the emperor, who would undoubtedly obtain by force what might now be granted as a favour. The town being in possession of the imperialists, resistance was in vain; and all were obliged to

concur in vesting the sovereignty in the House of Austria for ever.

Some years afterwards, Charles united Utrecht with Holland and Zealand, under the government of a stadtholder; and it was agreed that the government, money, customs, and laws, should be the same in all, each reserving its own particular rights, exclusive of the general union. This plan of union, which could not for a long time be rendered complete, was renewed in 1584, and was at last rendered general through the Seven Provinces. A. D. 1534.

FRIEZLAND.

NO people were ever more passionately enamoured of freedom, or more obstinate in its defence, than the inhabitants of Friezland. They were, however, at last forced to submit to the fortune, military skill, and power of the Romans. By a revolt and massacre of all the Romans in the province, they recovered their freedom, after a subjection of forty years. On the decline of the Roman Empire, they fell under the dominion of the Franks, but it was not without a struggle; and their conquest was perpetually endangered, by the daring efforts they made to regain their independence. After a long and bloody contest with the emperor Charles Martel, they were compelled to acknowledge his superiority, but not his sovereignty; but under Charlemagne the province

was absolutely subdued, the Friezlanders agreeing to pay a tribute of thirty pounds of silver annually. Friezland being placed under the government of a count, Forteman the Great was appointed to that office; presiding at courts of justice, representing the emperor's person, and executing his orders. The great services which the Frison army, under Forteman, performed against the Saxons, so pleased Charlemagne, that he exempted the province from every mark of servitude, declaring it free; leaving it to the inhabitants, to adopt what form of government they thought proper. They made no alteration, but continued Forteman governor or podestad for life.

A. D. 838. The administration of Ludigman, his successor, was less fortunate, the province being invaded by the Normans, and wholly destroyed; those barbarians sparing neither sex, age, or condition. The Danes, enemies no less cruel, were the next and successful invaders; but the valour of Haarman, the fourth podestad, effected the delivery of the province, having expelled the Danes and killed their king. All the precautions of Galem, the succeeding podestad, could not however secure the country against these hordes of barbarians, who settled in great numbers in the province, where their descendants continued for many years.

A. D. 935. William, earl of Holland, and king of the Romans, hoped, by bestowing many valuable privileges on the Friezlanders, to gain their affections, and obtain the sovereignty; but the podestad Sierdama, supported by a great body of the people, declared, that they would never betray the country to serve

an emperor, and had a medal struck with this inscription in Latin, "Liberty prevails over "gold." William twice led his army into the province, but was slain in the second expedition.

Martena, one of the most warlike of the podestads, repulsed the swarms of foreigners who came to invade the province, and defeated the Hollanders. Many of the noble families now flourishing in the provinces, are lineally descended from this hero. After his death, two violent factions, called Skirrhangers and Wathopers, arose; which, for a number of years, filled the country with confusion and discord, each contending for power. Invingen, the next podestad, besides these domestick troubles, had also to oppose Albert of Bavaria, who entered the province at the head of his army, and gained a complete victory, owing to the ungovernable impetuosity of the Friezlanders. At last, to close the wounds which had brought the state to the last gasp, two podestads, one from each faction, were appointed; but this expedient did not answer, the people ranging themselves under the banners of the different podestads, and fighting with all the fury of inveterate enemies. The consequence was, that the whole province became subject to the empire; the emperor Sigismund having imposed a tribute, upon the weaker party claiming his protection. The province never recovered its liberty, until the revolt in the Netherlands, which gave birth to the republick of the United Provinces.

OVERYSSEL.

THIS province was first peopled by a nation called Salians; but as several different nations bore that name, it is difficult to ascertain which of them first emigrated into Overyssel. The river Issel is distinguished, by writers, into Old and New. The former was called Sala, and on its banks lived a people called, from its name, Salians.

The manners and government of the ancient inhabitants of Overyssel are admirably painted by Tacitus. They had a general, to whom they committed the conduct of the army: he held the title of king, but he was chosen by the people, and his authority circumscribed by narrow limits. The whole legislative power was vested in the people, and a part of the executive, particularly what regarded punishments. All publick affairs were canvassed in general assemblies of the cities, or rather of the clans; here a priest assisted, whose province it was to preserve order and decorum. Each of the chiefs delivered his sentiments, and was favourably heard, in proportion to his reputation for eloquence, military valour, or patriotick virtue. Shouts, cries, and rattling of arms, notified the approbation of the assembly. The punishments were divided into three kinds; petty criminals were mulcted a horse, cow, or some other animal, which makes their code widely different from the Salique law, where fines were always paid in specie: traitors were hanged on the nearest tree, or stifled in mud; and as to quarrels and differences, they were usually decided by single combat.

Charlemagne introduced great changes in the government of Overyssel, which he conquered. Counts were created governors, to administer justice in the king's name, assisted by an officer named Scullet, without whose sanction no act of the governor was valid. Lewis of Bavaria, to whom this province fell, on the division of the empire, was forced to support his right by constant wars with the emperor, which desolated the country. It next became subject to the bishops of Utrecht, sovereigns more oppressive and arbitrary than either the emperor or the House of Bavaria. Barnulph was the first bishop who thus extended his dominion, and he governed with all the rigour of an ambitious and insolent ecclesiastick. The intriguing spirit and policy of this bishop at length roused the inhabitants, and they determined to set bounds to his authority. The most effectual appeared to be the restoration of the states to the ancient form of government under the king's counts and bishops, but which had been long neglected. The bishops dreaded the consequences of obstructing a measure so wholesome, equitable, and constitutional: they still, however, contrived to retain the executive power, but the legislative was lodged in the states and the sovereign united in council. Even this remnant of authority the bishops abused, engaging the country in continual war, which, though successful, only tended to depopulate and impoverish the province.

Besides the states, there was yet another check on the power of the bishops. The barons, who were absolute within their own jurisdictions, frequently arm- A. D. 1412.

ed their vassals, united and violently opposed the bishops. At last, animosity and a thirst of revenge stimulated them to solicit the protection of the Empire, thus acknowledging a sovereignty more absolute and despotick, because it was more able to enforce subjection. This resolution soon proved fatal. The imperial army, under pretence of defending the privileges of the people, plundered and destroyed the country, which was at the same time exposed to irruptions of the neighbouring states. The prodigality of John III. bishop of Utrecht, who had been raised to the episcopal throne, by one of those daring experiments which the popes sometimes hazarded to display their power, and procure the admission of their sovereignty, produced a sudden and extraordinary revolution. The profusion and dissipation of John soon encumbered him with such an enormous load of debt, as rendered it necessary for him to mortgage a great part of his territories. Overyssel was involved in his distress, and the states were obliged to dispose of several fiefs, which greatly retrenched their extent of dominion. The power of the bishop was however in some degree restored by the parsimony of Frederick Blankenheymen, who succeeded John; but all his precautions in redeeming the ceded territories and fortifying castles, did not prevent the people from revolting against his successor, David of Burgundy. They disregarded all his spiritual denunciations, and boldly prepared to resist his temporal power; nor did they acknowledge his authority until the country had been overrun by three armies, with which his father Philip, duke of Burgundy, had laid

siege to Deventer. David held the dignity for forty years, and died in the year 1497.

This province passed into the House of Austria in consequence of the cession made to Charles V. of the bishoprick of Utrecht. His son Philip II. was acknowledged in 1584, and the inhabitants swore fidelity to him; but he did not long keep possession. The rebellion broke out in the Netherlands. The tide of faction became strong; Overyssel followed the current of popular humour, entered into the designs of Utrecht, and formed a part of the Republick of the United Provinces.

GRONINGEN AND OMMELANDS.

SOME writers ascribe great antiquity to the province of Groningen, deducing the name from some of the most renowned Trojan warriors. But it has been irrefragably proved that Groningen is the citadel built by the Roman general Corbulo, to secure the obedience of the Friezlanders. This is particularly demonstrated by the conformity between the governments of Groningen and of ancient Rome. In the former, we find a senate vested with sovereign authority, consuls, prætors, censors, and ædiles, and occasionally a dictator. Several of the laws appear to be founded on the twelve tables; and yet, after all, there are scarce any monuments of the Roman power remaining.

Groningen, after having established its independence on the decline of the Empire, became

subject to the bishops of Utrecht. In the eleventh century it was a flourishing city, but lost great part of its territories, in consequence of a revolt against Godfrey, the then bishop. It some time afterwards grew sufficiently wealthy and powerful to attempt the conquest of the neighbouring states, especially of Friezland; but the emperor Maximilian, designing to reduce that province under his own dominion, thought he could not more effectually accomplish his wish than by offering his protection to Friezland. Albert of Saxony was accordingly sent to check the designs of the Gruns, and laid siege to Groningen, but the citizens repelled all his attacks with extraordinary valour. A treaty was at last entered into with the bishop, by which they agreed that a judge, nominated by the prelate, should preside in the city, which was to be left in full possession of its liberties. The emperor having, however, insisted on the cession of their conquests in Friezland, the Gruns boldly declared that they would sooner hazard all than surrender what had been purchased with their blood. The congress broke up, and the war was renewed by Albert, who was defeated. Albert died of chagrin; but his sons, Henry and George, attacked the Gruns with great violence and impetuosity. Groningen now applied to the duke of Guelderland; but the consequence was, that after a tedious and ruinous war, the city was surrendered to the emperor Charles V.

Ommelands, or the country surrounding Groningen, formerly composed a sovereignty independent on the city. The Fivelingo was governed by consuls chosen from the principal

inhabitants. On the decline of the state, this dignity dwindled into the office of eschevin or magistrate of justice. The people, probably, found it necessary to lessen the importance of the consular office, to stifle the ambition of the principal families, who often involved the state in bloody contests in order to obtain it.

Ommelands was once subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops of Munster; but, after they were possessed of the supreme authority of Groningen, the Ommelanders long refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the bishops of Utrecht. They were clearly an independent people at a late period, from the bloody wars they maintained, in 1232 and 1252, with the Gruns. In the last contest, the Ommelanders, disgusted with the unfeeling imposition of the Gruns, who had raised the duties upon all merchandize, and particularly cattle, in consequence of a mortality reigning amongst those animals, raised an army, and laid siege to Groningen. The city was forced to capitulate, consent to have their walls demolished, and all the forts and outworks razed.

These cantons were independent of each other, and only united by interest. Each had its own army, laws, and political maxims. They made war upon each other, and possessed every other prerogative of sovereignty. Private quarrels frequently occasioned wars; and nothing was more common than to see the whole country laid desolate for the most trifling provocation. It was this want of union that finally brought Ommelands under the dominion of Groningen, a more firm and compact body.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DISCONTENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

THE sovereignty of the flourishing provinces which, on account of their situation, were called the Netherlands, passed, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, to Maximilian; upon whose death Charles V. succeeded to these provinces, as nearest heir to his grandfather. Although a kind of independency was claimed by several, yet the policy, power, and warlike disposition of Charles, soon reduced them under his obedience; although he never attempted to establish the same sort of arbitrary government which subsisted in his Spanish and Italian dominions. Charles was born in the Netherlands, and had passed there the pleasantest of his younger days; he loved the people, and was fond of their manners: from taste and early attachment, he kept them constantly about his person, and had bestowed on them the most important offices in his dominions. Charles would gladly have transmitted to his son the affection he bore to his Flemish subjects; and when he resolved to retire from the world, and leave the government of his dominions to his son Philip, he exhorted him with much earnestness to cultivate the affections of this part of his subjects, and to govern them according to those laws, to which they had been so long accustomed, and were strongly attached.

When Charles resigned his crown to Philip, that part of the Low Countries called the Spanish Netherlands, were in the most flourishing state. No city, at that time, possessed such extensive commerce as Antwerp, and Philip could reckon, in this small portion of his vast dominions, above three hundred and fifty cities enclosed by walls, and six thousand three hundred inhabitants, all considerable and wealthy. The population, for the extent of the country, was prodigious; and the Flemings were remarkable for their assiduity in commerce, skill in navigation, and valour in war. Under the mild House of Burgundy, they became artizans and rich merchants; but under Charles they were made soldiers. Such was the situation of the Netherlands, on Philip's accession by his father's resignation. Philip had early displayed sagacity, prudence, and application, and was supposed, perfectly to understand the arts of government: but the Flemings soon observed, with anxiety, the striking contrast between the father and son. Charles was courteous and affable; but Philip distant, haughty, and severe. He declined learning any other language than Spanish, conversed little with the inhabitants, and was almost inaccessible to all but his Spanish subjects; this conduct made a deep impression on their minds, and they even refused to take the oath of allegiance, until he had engaged to exclude all foreigners from any share in the government of the provinces; and in case of Charles's death, previous to his resignation, it is even probable that they would have conferred the sovereignty on Maximilian, son of the king of Hungary and Bohemia. No period of

history is more striking than this, and no war more important than the revolution, which placed seven small provinces in a state of independency, in despite of the utmost efforts of the most powerful monarch in Europe. It is not the least singular feature of this revolution, that only the poorer and less populous provinces recovered their freedom; and that, in consequence of their liberty, they rose to an unparalleled height of grandeur and affluence, amidst all the horrors of a war the most tedious and oppressive of which history affords us an instance. Roused more by despair than well-grounded hopes, and feebly assisted by the neighbouring powers, they encountered the most celebrated generals of christendom, aided by the veterans of the Spanish monarchy; supplied with the money, and directed by the councils, of the richest, the most politick and ambitious monarch of his day. The princes of the House of Nassau, those intrepid assertors of liberty, were unable to maintain armies beyond a single campaign; yet did a general detestation of the Spanish nation, a love of liberty, perseverance, and courage, enable them to surmount every difficulty, excite a spirit of freedom through the provinces, and form leagues, though of short duration, which contributed to accomplish the revolution, and to throw off the galling yoke of servitude and subjection.

To the causes of discontent already enumerated, may be added those on the ground of religion, than which nothing more strongly influences the human mind. The persecutions carried on against the Lutherans and Calvinists, had been of the utmost benefit to the Netherlands. Their vast commerce required an in-

creased population, and the fugitives were consequently received with a hearty welcome. The natural instability of the human mind, renders it fond of novelty; and new doctrines, however absurd, generally spread with inconceivable rapidity; but the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were fortified by their congeniality to liberty. Notwithstanding the persecutions of Charles V. in which not less than one hundred thousand persons fell victims to the iron rod of persecution, the reformists daily increased. Mary, sister of the emperor and governess of the Low-Countries, invited her brother thither, to convince him how persecution begat heresy. Charles prudently relaxed, but Philip proved inflexible. An inquisition, similar to that of Spain and Italy, was established; and the Flemings did not know how soon they might become the victims of its tyranny and cruelty. The erection of new bishopricks, and the suppression of several abbies, also incensed the clergy; and the provinces, instead of three dioceses, were now encumbered with seventeen; in short, these new measures were exclaimed against by persons of all ranks and degrees. The most distinguished opponents, by their birth, their capacity, their alliances, services, friends, and employments, were William of Nassau, prince of Orange, governor of Utrecht, Holland, and Zealand; and count Egmont, governor of Flanders and Artois; and their distinguished conduct not only drew upon them the eyes of all Europe, but immortalized their names in its annals. Their situation was critical, and never were men more happily adapted to the peculiar circumstances of

the times, or more justly honoured with the appellation of saviours of their country.

The prince of Orange, so well known by the name of William the First, was born in Germany, of protestant parents. From his ancestors, one of whom had been emperor, he inherited many valuable possessions in the Netherlands; and had succeeded to the principality of Orange, by the will of René Nassau and Chalons his cousin German, in the year 1544: from that time Charles V. had kept him constantly about his person, and had discovered in him all those extraordinary talents, which rendered him afterwards one of the most distinguished characters of his age. Both he and count Egmont had aspired to the regency, and their refusal to command the Spanish troops had, by some, been ascribed to the chagrin occasioned by disappointment; and the desire the prince of Orange had expressed, to have the regency bestowed on the dutchy of Lorraine, is said to have been a principal motive with Philip for conferring it on the duchess of Parma. But William's discovery of a scheme, which the French and Spanish monarchs had formed, for the extirpation of the protestants, perhaps tended, more effectually than any other scheme, to alienate Philip from his former confidence. The jealousy of Granvelle and the other Spanish ministers, affords a yet more satisfactory reason for Philip's conduct. William had, from his early youth, been the principal favourite of Charles, who used to communicate to him his most secret counsels; and often declared that the prince, though scarcely arrived at the age of manhood, had

frequently suggested to him expedients of the greatest importance. Charles also chose the prince to support him in that august assembly in which he resigned his dominions, and bestowed on him, in preference to other courtiers, the honour of carrying the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand. This uncommon degree of attachment which was shown by the father, was the real cause of the son's coldness: the Spanish ministers envied his rising greatness, and seized every opportunity to raise suspicion in the jealous mind of Philip, and create an aversion to his character. Philip soon saw that he could neither depend on the prince nor count Egmont, for seconding his views to establish despotism. Count Egmont was a native of the Netherlands, and enjoyed the most considerable posts, honours, and distinctions, civil and military: he had gained great reputation at the famous battle of St. Quintin, and commanded in chief in the victory of Gravelines. These two noblemen, very opposite in their characters, were yet equally esteemed and beloved. William's genius was better adapted to the cabinet than to the field; he was prudent, penetrating, popular, and plausible; his eloquence was specious, and his discernment happy, in unravelling the most mysterious intrigues and negociations. On the contrary, Egmont was a warrior, free in his speech, open in his conduct, familiar in his behaviour to the soldiers; but too sincere and honest for a courtier. He publicly expressed his resentment against the late severe edicts, the establishment of the inquisition, and the regulations made in the church; while the prince of Orange, then a hostage in France for the execution of the

peace of Cambray, gave notice to his friends of the design formed for their extermination.

No sooner was Philip's intention of fixing his residence in Spain known, and that he had put the government of the Netherlands into the hands of the duchess of Parma, his natural sister, assisted by the counsels of Granvelle, a detested and unpopular ecclesiastick, than money was demanded for the pay of the foreign troops, which then oppressed the states, and that Granvelle had at the publick assembly, in the king's name, recommended the persecution of the protestants, than the publick discontent broke out in general murmuring and loud complaints. Before the king's departure, the states had respectfully requested that the foreign troops might be withdrawn. Philip, aware that his designs were suspected, promised to comply, but he never intended to perform. What gave still greater offence to the nobility was the elevation of cardinal Granvelle, in whose hands the chief direction of affairs was placed: they could not, with temper, behold the superiority of a person of obscure birth, an ambitious, crafty churchman, and furious zealot. Three councils were established at Brussels, one to preside over the laws and courts of justice; a second, to direct every thing relating to peace or war; and the third, to manage the revenues; but the duchess of Parma was particularly ordered to consult Granvelle in every matter, and to place her chief confidence in that prelate.

All the efforts of the duchess, after her arrival to enter upon her new dignity, were ineffectual to satisfy the remonstrances of the clergy against the proposed erection of new

bishopricks, and the people exclaimed against the inquisition, which had already begun to display its tyranny. The prince of Orange, count Egmont, and Montmorency count Horn, carried a statement of grievances to their new governess, and strenuously insisted upon assembling the states, and adopting those measures which could alone save the government from destruction. Granvelle violently opposed the proposal; upon which they wrote to the king himself, demanding his dismission, as the only measure to restore the tranquillity of the provinces; and they, at the same time, promised if their request was complied with, to support the crown and the established religion with all their influence and power. After every species of evasion and delay, Philip at last returned an answer so gracious, as encouraged them openly to oppose the cardinal, and to pass such affronts and mortifications upon him, that he resolved on retiring to Spain; insults which Philip neither forgot nor forgave.

Granvelle's resignation did not produce the desired effect. Two of his creatures, Viglius and count Barlaimont, succeeded, and trod exactly in the cardinal's footsteps. Their violence appeared so unseasonable, that one of Philip's ministers at last represented to him the danger of a general revolt in the provinces, unless a different system was pursued; but he only replied, "I would rather be without subjects, than a king of hereticks." He accordingly published the decrees of the council of Trent, with strict directions that they should be enforced, though diametrically opposite to the rights and liberties

A. D. 1563.

of the provinces. The division produced in the council by this measure, and the bold resistance of the people, who had wrested out of the hands of the inquisition several persons condemned to be burnt for heresy, greatly disturbed and embarrassed the duchess of Parma. She accordingly sent count Egmont into Spain, to inform Philip of the real state of his affairs: Philip received him graciously, and remitted the rigour of the edicts and inquisition; in consequence of which, all tumults and discontents were appeased; the prince of Orange was consulted in the conduct of affairs, and the duchess, in return, was obeyed and honoured.

The penetrating mind of the prince of Orange, however, soon led him to suspect the king's sincerity, and his conjectures were too well founded. At an interview between the queen-mother of France, and her son Charles IX. with Isabella queen of Spain, at Bayonne, the duke of Alva assisted, and there was little doubt that the extirpation of the protestants in France and the Netherlands was here concerted. Philip soon disclaimed the interpretations put on his instructions to count Egmont, ordered the decrees of the council of Trent to be strictly observed; that the utmost assistance should be given to the inquisition, and that all hereticks should be immediately put to death. Astonishment and dread first appeared in every face; rage succeeded, written libels were published, bold speeches uttered, and dangerous cabals formed against the government. The publick indignation was increased by the terrible spectacles every day presented by the inquisition, of men perishing in the flames, on account of their re-

ligious faith. The constancy of the sufferers excited the compassion of the spectators, weakened the opinion of their guilt, heightened their hatred of the authors of such enormities, and inspired them with sentiments of revenge. Open mutinies in several towns appeared; the prisons were forced, and the unhappy victims rescued from the hands of the executioner. A confederacy was soon formed against the inquisition, and became general, being subscribed to by catholicks as well as protestants, by nobles, burghers, merchants, tradesmen, and peasants.

So unexpected and formidable a show of resistance disconcerted the regent. The confederates, headed by Henry de Bredenrode, descended from the old earls of Holland, and prince Lewis of Nassau, brother of the prince of Orange, went in a body to Brussels, and demanded to see the duchess. After using every method to appease them, they were dismissed with an absolute promise that their petition should be granted, and in the mean time strict injunctions were laid on the inquisition to suspend their persecutions. All the duchess's influence, or the persuasion of the marquis of Mons and the baron de Montigny, who were sent to Spain on the occasion, proved ineffectual. Philip remained inflexible, and it soon appeared that the duchess had orders to resume the operations of the inquisition with increased severity. Irritated to the utmost by this conduct, the reformers broke out into the most unjustifiable excesses: they insulted the catholicks during service; broke into the great church, one of the richest edifices in Europe; A. D. 1566.

overturned the altars, defaced the paintings, and destroyed the images. Monasteries and convents shared the same fate, and more serious consequences would have followed, had not the prince of Orange, and counts Egmont and Horn, exerted themselves most strenuously in quieting the tumults occasioned by the intemperate zeal of the reformers. Their moderation, authority, and the veneration in which they were held, operated so powerfully, that had the government at this period made but reasonable concessions, the publick tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affection of the Flemings regained.

The prince of Orange, and the counts Horn and Egmont, had very little reason to imagine that their conduct on this occasion could meet with the king's displeasure. But the disapprobation they had discovered of his measures of government some years before, their opposition to the Spanish garrisons, the removal of Granvelle through their remonstrances, the part they acted in the council against the inquisition and edicts, and the attachment they had ever shown to the liberties and constitution of the provinces, had long excited in his dark and revengeful mind, a degree of hatred and resentment, which neither time, repentance, nor faithful services could erase; and Granvelle found it easy to persuade him that in secret they had been the abettors of all the disturbances which had arisen. Philip lost no time in ordering the regent to raise catholick troops on whom he could depend; and a new oath of allegiance was issued, by which all persons were obliged to swear that they would regard as traitors and

enemies to their country all whom the king should think proper to proscribe. Egmont and great numbers of the nobility took the oath; but the prince of Orange steadily refused; he said it would be unnatural for him to swear the destruction of his wife and family, who were protestants, and consequently in the number of the proscribed.

In the mean time, Philip had resolved, in spite of every remonstrance, and the advice of many of his counsellors, to punish his revolted subjects with the utmost severity. A strong and well-disciplined army was therefore ordered to the Netherlands under the command of the duke of Alva, who was well qualified to execute the plan of tyranny and oppression which Philip had determined to pursue. The persecutions in the Netherlands now went on with redoubled activity: the fury of the inquisition seemed augmented by the short suspension of their authority. Thousands groaned under the extremity of torture, and breathed their last in bitter execrations on the authors of their misfortunes. Alva, with the troops destined for the Netherlands, embarked at Barcelona, on the 20th May, 1567. The army was composed of the best Spanish and Italian soldiers, commanded by experienced officers, trained and disciplined in the wars of Charles V. and on his arrival he was joined by four thousand Germans raised during the late commotions. His arrival spread equal consternation and astonishment over the provinces; such a force, under so renowned a general, a man haughty, morose, severe, and cruel in his disposition, could not fail of producing such effects. The prince of Orange resolved to avoid the im-

pending storm, and accordingly withdrew with his family and friends to his country of Nassau, in Germany. Previous to his departure he used every argument to persuade count Egmont to accompany him, but in vain. The count was the father of a numerous family, which he could not support with dignity in any other country but the Netherlands; and conscious of his fidelity, and of the important services he had performed, he could not be persuaded that Philip intended to punish more than those who had been concerned in the late disorders. The prince of Orange, finding the count inflexible, left him with these prophetick words: "You are on the bridge, count Egmont, by which the duke of Alva will pass into the Netherlands, and he will no sooner pass it than he will break it down. You will repent of despising the warning which I have given you, but I dread that your repentance will be too late."—The example of the prince of Orange was adopted by count Broderode, count Hoogstrade, and great numbers of the nobility and people, who also retired into Germany, impressed with the conviction that they could not remain in safety under a government supported by violence and the sword.

A. D. 1567. From the character of Alva, the duchess of Parma foresaw that he would usurp the supreme authority, though his commission extended no farther than to a military command. The duchess, therefore, requested permission to retire, which, after repeated solicitations, was at last granted. She left Brussels much regretted by the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and particularly by the protestants,

to whom her administration appeared mild and gentle, when they compared it with that which they had reason to expect under their present government.

Count Egmont, after the arrival of Alva, soon found his consequence much diminished; but he even humbled himself so far as to receive and welcome Alva, who was in the mean time plotting his destruction, but dissembled his sanguinary intention until he was prepared to put it in execution. One of Alva's first acts, was to cast both count Egmont and count Horn into prison. Having in some degree quieted their apprehensions, he desired them, one day, to come to his house, to give their opinion on the plan of a citadel he designed to build. After that business was over, they were carried, on different pretences, into separate apartments; count Egmont by Alva himself, and count Horn by his son Frederick de Tolledo. "Count Egmont," said Alva, "deliver your sword; it is the will "of the king that you give it up and go to pri- "son." The count, finding himself surrounded by Alva's guards, and all resistance useless, delivered his sword, saying: "By this sword the "cause of the king has been oftener than once "successfully defended." Both he and count Horn protested, that, as knights of the Golden Fleece, they could only be imprisoned and tried by their peers; but they were notwithstanding, hurried away to a prison out of the confines of the province, and in violation of a sacred privilege, which belonged to the lowest of the people. This event filled the minds of the catholicks as well as protestants with the most disquieting apprehensions. The alarm had spread through

all ranks; and it was computed, that not less than one hundred thousand persons had, by this time, fled into foreign parts.

After the departure of the duchess of Parma, Alva's authority remained entire; and he lost no time in issuing an edict, giving a month's time to the reformers to leave the country; and at the same time ordered the inquisition to proceed with the utmost rigour. To assist them he established a council, the cruelty of which soon gained it the name of the bloody council. One Vergas, a Spanish lawyer, was placed at its head; and it became a proverbial expression in Spain, "that the gangrene of the Low-Coun-"tries required the keen knife of Vergas." This extraordinary board could abridge or annul, at pleasure, the rights and privileges of the people; and it at once annihilated the authority of the council of state. They next proceeded to declare, that to present any petition against the edicts of the inquisition, or insinuating that the king had not power to abolish their privileges, should be high treason, punishable at his discretion. Blood alone was not, however, the object of the tribunal: it confiscated the estate, not only of the convicted, but of those suspected of heresy: part was appropriated to the crown, but the greater part went into the pocket of the duke of Alva, and was assigned as a reward for the barbarity of the judges. The murmurs of the people were stifled by fear, and the terrors of the new council seemed for a moment to have deprived them of all power of resentment. The new army was fierce, brave, and insolent, desiring nothing so much as a civil war, in which they might enrich and distinguish themselves.

nothing was seen but confiscation, torture, blood, horror, and despair; punishments executed, and meditated revenge. In the space of a few months, one thousand eight hundred persons suffered by the hand of the executioner; yet Alva's vengeance was not satiated. In the mean time, Philip lent a deaf ear to all the remonstrances of the nobility, and even the pope, who advised him to moderate his resentment. The unhappy people had now no resource left, but in the wisdom, publick spirit, and extensive influence of the prince of Orange. Soon after Alva's arrival, the prince had been cited to appear before him; and a declaration had been published, that the greatest lenity would be shown to him. But William was too sagacious to be caught in the snare. He refused to obey the citation; sentence was pronounced against him and several other noblemen, and their estates confiscated.

The prince of Orange was too well acquainted with Philip's inflexible temper, to expect any redress for his grievances; yet, that he might clearly satisfy the world, of the necessity he was under to take up arms, he sent to the emperor Maximilian, a particular account of all that had passed; and entreated him to employ his good offices in behalf of the wretched people. Maximilian readily undertook the office of mediator, and sent his brother Charles of Austria to Philip, to remonstrate on the impolicy and cruelty of his conduct; but a haughty message was the only answer, which not only alienated the emperor from him, but greatly facilitated the levies raised in Germany.

The prince made use of every argument, that could influence the understanding, or move the

passions of the protestant princes of Germany; but he obtained only promises, and could raise only a handful of men. In order to raise money he sold his jewels; and his brother, count John of Nassau, supplied him with a considerable sum; and he received contributions from the Flemish exiles in London and other places, where they had taken shelter. It was fortunate that the princess who now sat upon the throne of England, was led, both by inclination and interest, to adopt a different line of conduct from that which had actuated Mary, Philip's former wife; and the prince of Orange formed the most sanguine hopes, that she would not remain an uninterested spectator of what was passing in the Netherlands. Several of the protestant princes also supplied money, furnished troops, and promised more. It was thought advisable to divide the Spanish forces, by making excursions on every side.

Count Lewis was much sooner ready than his brother, to take the field. His first attempt was upon Groningen; and the duke of Alva lost no time in sending count Aremberg, an officer of considerable reputation, against him. Lewis encamped with great judgment, and owing to the ferocious impetuosity of the Spaniards, who would not wait for reinforcements, gained a complete victory; the general being killed. The Spaniards lost their artillery, baggage, and military chest; and though the reinforcements arrived when the battle had scarcely ended, count Mengen found it necessary to take shelter in Groningen, and collect the remains of the conquered. The duke of Alva was so sensibly affected with this defeat, that he resolved on

marching himself into Friesland, with his whole army, in order to destroy Lewis's army before his brother should arrive. But previous to setting out, he thought it necessary to dispatch the trial of the counts Egmont and Horn, and some other lords, who had been thrown into prison; notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his friends to the contrary. The defences of the prisoners were most satisfactory, and completely established their innocence. The most earnest solicitations were also made in their behalf, by the emperor Maximilian and the duchess of Parma; but Philip, cursed with the most unfeeling heart, was immoveable, and Alva pronounced sentence of death against both. The unmerited death of these two great men, excited universal grief and indignation: nor could the spectators be prevented, by the numerous troops surrounding them, from testifying their indignation. Many, regardless of the danger to which they were exposed, rushed forward, dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood, and vowed, even in the hearing of the Spaniards, that the governor and his associates should have reason to repent of this cruel murder.

Count Egmont was forty-six years of age when he suffered: to the most splendid accomplishments, he joined gentleness of manners, and the most engaging affability. From his youth he had accompanied the late emperor in his military expeditions, and had, on all occasions, acquitted himself with the highest honour, and rendered himself universally beloved. The victory of Gravelines was owing entirely to count Egmont, and at St. Quintin's he was of singular importance. What, therefore, must have been

the wretched ingratitude of a sovereign, who could forget the benefit he derived from victories gained by such men!

Alva, after satisfying his blood-thirsty vengeance, lost no time in marching against count Lewis; who perceiving his army inferior, both in number and situation, soon found the necessity of quitting his former situation. He retired, with little loss, to the town of Gemmingen, where he fixed his camp in a place deemed almost impregnable. Alva having, however, hastily attacked him when employed in breaking down the dykes; and the Germans, from want of being regularly paid, having mutinied; the whole Flemish army was almost completely destroyed. Count Lewis himself escaped with difficulty, in a small boat, and immediately set out to join his brother the prince of Orange.

Alva was not awakened from the pleasing occupation of satiating his savage mind with the blood of fresh victims, until he heard that the army of the prince of Orange was in motion, and advancing towards Guelderland. William, previous to leaving Germany, published a manifesto; in which he declared, that "there "was no expedient left, by which he could save "his countrymen from slavery and ruin; and "to attempt this he thought, was the indispen- "sable duty of every citizen; especially of one "who, like him, had enjoyed the highest digni- "ties of the state." In this manifesto, the prince announced his change in religious sentiments, and declared himself a protestant.

William's army did not exceed twenty thousand men, and the duke of Alva's was equal in number, but much better provided with military

stores and provisions. William however hoped, from the representations he had received of the state of the publick mind, that as soon as his army appeared, there would be a general insurrection, and that the principal cities would open the gates in his favour.

The prince having passed the Rhine unopposed, directed his march towards Liege; but that city not venturing to declare in his favour, he determined on passing the Maese. Alva had adopted every precaution to prevent this, which William at last effected in the night, at a place where the duke believed it to have been impracticable. The supineness of the Germans, however, who insisted on having a night's rest, prevented William from seizing the only opportunity he ever had of attacking the duke. Alva, aware of the fatal consequences which one defeat would bring upon him, and knowing the narrowness of William's finances, merely studied to prevent his getting possession of any of the strong towns, without which, he knew the army could not winter in the Netherlands; and therefore directed his attention to cutting off the supplies, and always intrenched his own army with so much skill, that the prince was deprived of every opportunity to attack him. Frequent skirmishes were, however, unavoidable, attended with alternate success; but both commanders displayed so much caution and ability, that neither could obtain any considerable advantage over the other. The want of money and provisions, the precautions which Alva had taken to prevent William's friends from making any serious effort in his behalf, the approach of winter, and the unsteady and refractory disposition of the Ger-

mans, beside the disappointment in remittances, at length compelled William to disband his army, after giving them all the satisfaction in his power, and securing the remainder of their arrears on his lordship of Montfort and principality of Orange. Such was the conclusion of the faint attempt which the prince and his brother made to deliver the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. Alva was now at full liberty to indulge his sanguinary disposition to the utmost. The prisoners were destroyed by the sword, by fire, by the halter, and water: success increased his insolence; and he resolved, by building strong citadels in every town, entirely to suppress the reformed religion. His extortion and rapacity kept pace with his cruelty, until the states at length steadily resisted sanctioning his unreasonable demands. In this situation of affairs, Coligni, admiral of France, advised the prince of Orange to fit out a squadron of privateers to cruize against the Spanish and Flemish merchants, seize upon the supplies of money sent to the Netherlands, and, by that means, raise a fund for the maintenance of the army. Poverty was the greatest difficulty the reformists had to encounter; and to remedy this, the prince approved of Coligni's project, and accordingly equipped a squadron which, in a short time, captured great numbers of merchantmen, and even defeated a squadron of Philip's; but these captures contributed but little to forward the prince's designs. To the other calamities of war, may be added the breaking in of the dykes, and the consequent overflowings of the lands, which swept before them houses and cattle in abundance. The prince of Orange was, in the mean time, assiduous in levying an

army to oppose Alva, and rescue his country from the impending destruction. Every exertion was made to raise money; and the tyranny of the government contributed strongly to attach the inhabitants to the prince.

Alva, impatient of the delay in reducing the whole country to subjection, now ordered the taxes to be increased. A. D. 1571.

The people refused to pay, and the soldiers levied it by force, which, consequently, created the utmost scarcity, as the peasants refused to bring any provisions to the markets. The duke, enraged at resistance, ordered, at Brussels, the drum to beat to arms, and to hang up all who refused compliance. These orders were preparing to be executed, when advice arrived that the commander of the Orange squadron had made a descent upon the island of Voorn, at the entrance of the Meuse, and completely destroyed the whole island, but offered no violence to the inhabitants.

The conquest of a place so considerable, was sufficient to alarm the duke of Alva, who regarded it as the harbinger of future opposition. He therefore suspended his taxes, and diligently applied himself to the suppression of the growing spirit of rebellion. The detachment he sent against the Briel was forced to retire with loss to the island of Beyerland. The prince of Orange, aware of the importance of his acquisition, exerted himself to fortify and garrison the island, by which he soon got possession of Delfshaben, a town on the opposite side of the Meuse. Animated by this success, Dordrecht and Rotterdam refused to admit the Spanish troops, and Flushing shut its gates. Even an

unsuccessful attempt to surprise Middleburgh, the capital of the island of Walcheren, did not dispirit the party; and the Zealanders, by prosecuting their attempts, captured many valuable Spanish merchants; with the produce of which, they purchased a large store of arms and ammunition at Antwerp. Aided by numbers of English and Scotch adventurers, they attacked the duke de Medina Cœli with such fury and impetuosity, that they gained a complete victory, and a booty amounting to near a million of livres.

Perhaps the neglect of the marine, was the greatest error which Alva committed during the whole of his administration. This he endeavoured too late to repair, and, by weakening his garrisons, enabled the prince of Orange to get possession of the whole of North Holland, and of Mons. In short, the revolt became so general, that the duke found he could not long resist the torrent. He therefore remitted the most oppressive taxes, and convoked the states; but his orders were disregarded. The states assembled, and invited deputies from the prince of Orange, the nobility, and the towns that had declared against the governor. The money they raised enabled the prince of Orange to take the field with fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse; and he was even able to advance three months pay thro' the liberality and publick spirit of the states-general and the cities. It was on this occasion declared, that the future supplies should be raised in certain proportions, and that nothing should be transacted without the privity and consent of the prince of Orange. It was on this occasion that the prince displayed the address with which he

could manage and direct the people; for, without the name of sovereign of the provinces, he yet possessed the supreme authority. He commanded all operations by sea and land, disposed of offices at pleasure, assembled the states, and published uncontroled, all regulations consequent on the state of affairs. From the delicacy and address with which he used his power, he avoided giving any offence to the free spirit of the Hollanders; and the most vigorous measures were taken for resisting the tyranny of Spain. All parties were, indeed, ready to subscribe their all in defence of a party undertaken for the protection of liberty.

The prince of Orange lost no time in taking Ruremonde by assault, in consequence of a refusal to supply him with necessaries. Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde, next fell to him; and he approached Mons, then besieged by the duke of Alva, with a design to bring him to an open engagement. Although the duke baffled his efforts, and carried Mons by capitulation, yet such was the popularity of the cause, that nothing but the massacre of the protestants in France could, at this moment, have prevented the total annihilation of the Spanish power.

The states having met at Haarlem, to deliberate on their own defence, and the prosecution of the war, it was resolved to attack Amsterdam; but the effort failed, through the misconduct of Lancey, who fancied that he was equally great on the land as he had proved himself at sea. The reduction of Mons, and the depression of spirits consequent on the massacre at Paris, induced the prince of Orange to retire to Holland, and Alva laid siege to Dender-

monde, Oudenarde, and Mechlin. The last being in no condition to resist, opened its gates, and every species of enormity was committed against the inhabitants. With unbridled lust, the Spanish soldiers forcibly enjoyed the females of all descriptions, even children, and plundered wherever they went; and the booty was estimated at four hundred thousand florins. The prince had now removed the war into Holland, which, with Zealand alone, remained firm to its engagements, being filled with a rough, sturdy, and hardy people, who had determined on the most vigorous resistance. Frederick de Toledo began the operations in Holland, and made himself master of Zutphen, Guelderland, and Waerdan; at the latter of which places he committed the most shocking barbarities, to intimidate the people; but contrary effects were produced, rage and despair having taken possession of every breast, and excited them to the last efforts to resist the effects of such barbarous tyranny. The next attempt was against Haarlem, which, after the most obstinate siege recorded in history, and the most unparalleled efforts of the prince of Orange for their relief, was obliged to submit, on much easier terms than might have been expected; a few of the principals only being exacted, and the inhabitants compelled to take an oath of fidelity, and pay a fine of fifteen thousand florins.

During this siege, the Zealanders were performing glorious achievements by sea, and gaining victories over the Spanish naval armaments. But the governor of Antwerp, finding all efforts to control their success ineffectual, at last manned a fleet, and was completely defeated by

the Zealand admiral. A second attempt met with no better success; but he contrived to succour Middleburg with the broken remains of his squadron, at a time when the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremity; and on his return to Antwerp, he sustained a third and most signal defeat.

Alva at length found how ineffectual his severity was, and therefore published a proclamation, couched in terms so soothing, as afforded much reason for suspecting his sincerity. The people were little disposed to confide in promises so often broken: they were reduced to despair, and, expecting the worst that could happen, bid defiance to fortune.

Almar was next besieged by Frederick of Toledo, with sixteen thousand men. The place was fortified by no regular works, and defended only by three hundred burghers and eight hundred soldiers, in extreme want of provisions, and without any prospect of relief. The governor and the garrison thought of nothing but surrendering, when the prince of Orange so animated them by a letter, penned in his own persuasive and inestimable manner, that they all determined to sacrifice their lives, and lose the last drop of their blood in the breach. Their courage increased with every assault, and the besiegers were repulsed in every attempt to enter the breach which their artillery had made; and the information they had gained from a Spanish prisoner, that Alva had ordered the besiegers to retire in case they did not succeed in a third attack, raised their drooping spirits. The rainy season came on; the Spaniards refused to ascend the walls, and the siege was at last raised, to the

great mortification of Alva. This advantage was shortly followed by the defeat of Alva's grand fleet, equipped at great labour and expense.

On the 22d of December, Alva, disgusted and dispirited with the failure of his best schemes, quitted the Low-Countries, and Frederick de Requesnes was appointed to succeed him. The first act of his administration was the destruction of his predecessor's statue at Antwerp; a popular act that would have produced happy consequences, had not the court of Spain been infatuated with notions of despotism and blind superstition.

CHAP. IV.

The Government of Requesnes; the Siege of Leyden, and the Confederacy of the Provinces until the Assassination of the Prince of Orange in 1584, *under the Government of the Duke of Parma.*

THE popularity of the new governor did not long continue. He pursued most of the former measures with vigour; but the first advantage appeared on the side of the prince of Orange in the surrender of Middleburgh, notwithstanding numerous expedients practised for its relief. The Zealanders at the same time got possession of the island of Walcheren. A dreadful reverse of fortune was however near. Requesnes determined to prevent the junction of Lewis of Nassau with his brother, and therefore opposed to him the whole flower of his army. The consequence was a complete victory; the three brothers, Lewis, Henry, and Christopher, being left dead on the field. The mutinous spirit of Lewis's troops certainly contributed much in favour of the Spanish general, who was very shortly in the same situation as his opponent had been: a most serious mutiny broke out in the Spanish camp, nor were the mutineers at all pacified until they had raised a contribution of four thousand livres from the city of Antwerp, under fear of being pillaged. The confusion occasioned by this circumstance, was highly increased by a signal victory gained by the Zealanders A. D. 1574.

over a Spanish fleet of forty ships, most of which were either taken or destroyed.

Philip, at length, saw the necessity of using milder measures, and published a proclamation offering a free pardon to all, except the prince of Orange, who should come in and sign an abjuration of their heresy. Under such limitations, the benefit of Philip's offer was universally rejected, and the provinces resolved on maintaining their liberties to the last. They applied for assistance to England, France, and all the protestant powers of the empire, and strenuously exerted themselves to carry on the war against their oppressors. Requesnes, finding no good could be expected from the king's proclamation, determined on the most memorable event of the year, the siege of Leyden. The prince of Orange had been long aware of this intention, and had accordingly given the strictest orders for victualling and preparing the town. These precautions were by some fatally neglected, and the inhabitants were consequently subject to the pressure of a thousand wants, during the most obstinate, bloody, and cruel siege, the Netherlands had yet beheld. The most advantageous terms were rejected by the burghers and little garrison, who relied on their courage, the justice of their cause, and their perseverance. Their efforts were prodigious, the result of necessity and despair; but, though reduced to the necessity of living on the dead carcases of their fellow-citizens, all their resolution would have been ineffectual, had not a violent south-west wind drove the inundation with such fury against the besiegers, that Valdes, fearing his army would be swallowed up in the

waves, was obliged to draw off his army and relinquish the enterprise. A second and more serious mutiny now arose among the Spanish troops, who attempted to set fire to Utrecht; nor was it until the most vigorous measures had been taken, that the Spanish general was able to lead them into winter quarters in Brabant.

The next year commenced with some fruitless negociations at Breda, which, notwithstanding the mediation of the emperor, only left the parties more distant from any prospect of accommodation than before. Hostilities recommenced with the sieges of Baren, Oudewater, and Schoonhoven, which all successively, notwithstanding a brave resistance, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who every where committed the greatest excesses. The siege of Woerde was, however, attended with greater difficulties than the Spaniards lately had to encounter. After a blockade of three months, the Spanish general was obliged to retire, with the loss of great part of his army, by a vigorous sally from the besieged. A. D. 1575.

The prince of Orange still maintained his superiority at sea; and Philip soon saw, that unless he could get possession of the principal sea-ports, his projected conquest could not be effected. Requesnes was therefore ordered to apply his army principally to that object, and use every exertion to prepare a fleet. The Zealanders were not in the mean time inactive. They attacked the Spanish fleet, and destroyed the greatest part of it, either on the stocks or in the harbours. But Requesnes laboured with increased activity to repair his loss, and was

soon in a condition to make an attempt on the Zealanders, who, notwithstanding the most desperate resistance, were at length obliged to abandon the island of Walcheren, leaving to the Spaniards the possession of the open country, and full liberty to pursue the conquests of the towns. Ziriczee was blockaded; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the prince of Orange, the garrison having endured the greatest hardships, surrendered.

Notwithstanding the great and extensive power of Philip, he was every where inconceivably distressed for money. Requesnes attempted in vain, to levy contributions on the provinces, to satisfy the wants of his mutinous army; but while thus employed, he died of an ardent fever. All was now anarchy: the council of state had taken upon them the administration until a successor should arrive; but their efforts could not prevent a general mutiny and rebellion in all the Spanish garrisons, which continued with such fury, that Don John of Austria, who had been appointed governor, was obliged to retire to Luxemburgh, until the storm should subside.

The prince of Orange did not fail to profit by these commotions, but exerted himself to form the pacification, by which the greatest blow was given to Spain she had yet sustained. A general confederacy of the states had been agreed upon, for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the Netherlands; and united in council against the common enemy, every measure was taken for reducing the cities of Ghent, Antwerp, and Maestrich, the chief places remaining in the hands of the Spaniards.

The citadel of Ghent was taken by the assistance of a strong reinforcement of troops and artillery sent by the prince of Orange; but at Antwerp, the states were not so successful. The Spanish mutineers had entered the place, which they set on fire, and pillaged for three days, at a time when Antwerp was the most flourishing and populous city in the Netherlands, and most wealthy in Europe. The plunder was not calculated at less than four millions, independent of a quantity of rich merchandize. This terrible calamity united all parties, papists as well as protestants, to form a confederacy, in which all the provinces engaged to expel foreign soldiers, to restore the ancient form of government, to refer religious matters to the several states or the provinces, which were to be assembled in the same manner as under the House of Burgundy, and Charles V.; to suspend all religious persecution; to release all natives made prisoners, without ransom; and to restore every thing to the footing on which it stood previous to the duke of Alva's government.

The states-general began with a successful negociation for assistance from Elizabeth, queen of England. She lent A. D. 1557. them twenty thousand pounds sterling, on condition that the French should not be admitted into the Netherlands, and that the provinces would accept of reasonable terms of accommodation when offered. A cessation of hostilities was next agreed upon with Don John, who was at last obliged to grant what the states demanded, to confirm the pacification of Ghent, and to dismiss the Spanish army. The treaty being proclaimed, Don John was immediately acknow-

ledged governor and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands. Peace was restored, industry revived, and religious disputes silenced. The United Provinces had every appearance of again becoming the most flourishing and important part of the Spanish dominions, had not the ambition of Don John, and the false policy and despotism of Philip, a third time lighted up the torch of civil war, never to be appeased, but by the total extinction of the dominions of the Spanish monarchy over the Seven Provinces. After the departure of the foreign troops, when liberty began to draw wealth, while commerce was again lifting its head, and the acts of peace distributing their blessings, the conduct of Don John gave great umbrage to the people as well as to the states. In short, he displayed very evidently, his intentions of resuming the former oppressive government; and had been even known to have recommended a recurrence to force.

The states were aware of his plans, but Philip determined to lose no time in executing them. He accordingly seized Namur, and several times attempted to get possession of Antwerp, but failed. Upon the Spanish forces assembling in Namur and Luxemburgh, the states invited the prince of Orange to Breda, where he was most joyfully received, and every precaution taken which seemed necessary, to enable the country to resist this new invasion of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding it was evident, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that the publick good was the only object he had in view; yet he was not without rivals, who openly asserted that he was influenced only by ambition, which it was necessary to control; and their

power was so considerable, that the states judged it expedient to call in Matthias, brother to the emperor and archduke of Austria, as governor of the provinces; but the prince of Orange, happily for the country, was appointed his lieutenant.

The states-general having declared Don John an enemy to the country, and called upon all his adherents to quit him on pain of being declared rebels, the Spanish council determined to act with the utmost vigour for the support of their governor. To oppose these preparations, the states concluded a treaty with queen Elizabeth; who agreed to advance them one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and to send five thousand foot and one thousand horse, the states paying all expenses when in their service, and giving other satisfactory security. Elizabeth, however, unwilling to excite the jealousy of France and the resentment of Spain, proposed sending Casimir count Palatine, with three thousand foot and three thousand horse, instead of the English. A. D. 1578.

Don John was, in the mean time, joined by the Spanish army under Alexander Farnese, the most intrepid, vigorous, and renowned officer in the service of Philip. The war was commenced without delay: but the states were irresolute and slow, notwithstanding the spirited remonstrances of the prince of Orange. The Spanish army, amounting to sixteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, all veterans, defeated the Sieur de Coigny, who was at the head of ten thousand foot and five thousand horse, near Namur; after which, almost all the towns where he marched surrendered to him. Brussels, how

ever, was too strongly fortified; and he declined so difficult an enterprise. The accession of Amsterdam to the confederacy, at this juncture, more than compensated for all their losses; and the states, aware that their misfortunes had been principally owing to their own delays, invested the archduke and prince of Orange with sufficient powers to prevent the recurrence of such fatal measures. At this time also, a change of government in the provinces of Guelderland and Groningen was of the utmost service to the confederacy; and would have enabled those districts to encounter the whole power of Spain, had not discussion broke their strength, divided their council, and distracted their affairs. About this time, the states concluded a treaty with the duke of Anjou, by which he was gratified with the title of defender of the liberties of the Netherlands, in consideration of a large reinforcement which he brought. While the states were thus straining every nerve to prepare for their defence, Don John, after making an unsuccessful attack upon their camp, died (some imagine of chagrin, others of poison); and the whole power devolved on the duke of Parma, who was much superior to him, both as a statesman and a soldier.

The prince of Orange perceiving, from fatal experience, that little reliance was to be placed in mercenary allies, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces. It was, in fact, the only measure which could be proposed with safety; and it was prosecuted with that alacrity and address, for which William was deservedly celebrated. Deputies from all the provinces accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed the al-

liance, which formed the basis of that commonwealth, so renowned by the appellation of the United Provinces. In this grand contract, sketched out by the hand of the prince of Orange, may easily be discerned the judicious steady hand of the master and true patriot. It was universally approved, and a coin was struck, expressive of the situation of the infant republick.* The Wolloons alone, through jealousy of the protestants, refused to accede to the union, and actually formed a league with the duke of Parma. Philip did every thing in his power to detach the prince of Orange from the confederacy; he offered to restore his estates indemnify his losses, and raise him to the height of power and of favour. But William knew too well the perfidy of the king; he was too firm to be moved by danger, and too publick-spirited to relinquish the interests of his country for his own private emolument. William's next care was to suppress the disturbances in Ghent, and restore the catholicks to the possession of their estates; an instance of justice, which could not procure him the confidence of that faction, who esteemed the man, while they detested the heretick.

The war continued with various success: but from the activity and valour of the duke of Parma, rather to the advantage of the Spaniards. Maestricht and several towns were taken after a most desperate resistance, while the country was in every quarter completely devastated, and

* It represented a ship, labouring amidst the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant.*

the soldiers murmuring for want of pay, both in the Spanish and Orange armies.

William now saw, that the only expedient to relieve them from absolute destruction, was to renew the treaty with the duke of Anjou; notwithstanding the calumny and suspicion to which such a measure might expose him. Anjou was accordingly, soon after, elected sovereign in the United Provinces; and the year ended with Philip's proscribing the prince of Orange, and offering a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns to whoever should produce him, dead or alive.

A. D. 1581. The greater part of this year was occupied with petty hostilities, but with no decisive success on either side. The states, however, after long deliberations, published an edict, excluding Philip from any sovereignty, right, or authority over the Netherlands, and expressly renouncing their allegiance to him. In the mean time, the duke of Anjou having assembled his army, marched to the relief of Cambray, and compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege with great loss; but his army was not sufficiently strong for any decisive operations. Tournay, after a most desperate resistance, was taken by the duke of Parma, who stormed the breach in person; and this advantage was succeeded by another, over the confederate army in Friezland.

A. D. 1582. An attempt, which might have proved fatal to the cause of the Provinces, had nearly succeeded this year. One Gaspar Anestra, a man of desperate fortune, had determined to assassinate the prince of Orange: he discharged a pistol, which dangerously

wounded him in the ear, as he was passing through one of the rooms after dinner. The assassin was immediately killed by the attendants, and William speedily recovered, to the general joy of the Provinces. The remainder of the year was consumed, like the former, in indecisive hostilities, neither party being sufficiently strong to take the field. But another plan, contrived, as it was said, with the privity and concurrence of the duke of Parma, who had received orders from his court for the purpose, for the murder of the duke of Anjou, the prince of Orange, and prince d'Espinio, was discovered, and the conspirators executed.

The cause of the United Provinces had nearly this year received a fatal shock, from the open disunion and breach which the conduct of the duke of Anjou had produced; who, entirely governed by his favourites, and but feebly supported by his brother Henry III. seemed more anxious to secure himself and enrich his favourites, than to forward the side he had so interestedly espoused. The mediation of Henry and of Elizabeth, as well as the advice of the prince of Orange, however, produced a reconciliation, and things were put on the same footing as before. Hostilities recommenced, but the tide of success went entirely in favour of the Spaniards. The French army was defeated, and Dunkirk, with several other towns, taken; soon after which, the duke of Anjou returned to France. His retreat was of the greatest service to the duke of Parma, as commotions immediately broke out in Ghent, some of the inhabitants offering to submit themselves to the Spaniards; but this design was

A. D. 1583.

happily prevented, by the arrival of a body of troops from Brussels and Antwerp.

A. D. 1584. While the prince of Orange was making the most unremitting exertions to establish the cause of the confederates, the duke of Anjou died in France, in the thirtieth year of his age: calamitous as that event was to the Provinces, it was soon effaced by a much greater, which a few weeks after befel them, in the death of the prince of Orange; who was assassinated by one Balthazar Gerard, a man who had in some degree insinuated himself into William's good opinion, and had been placed by him in the train of the embassy to France. On pretence of applying for a passport, he placed himself at the door of the apartment where William was at dinner; and waited there, with a cloak cast around him, until they were retiring into another room; when stepping forward, he shot the prince with a pistol loaded with three balls. William had only time to say, "God "have mercy upon me and this afflicted people! "I am severely wounded:" and in a few moments expired. The assassin being taken in attempting to escape, confessed that he had formed the design for six years, but had been deterred by his friends from the bloody purpose. This melancholy event diffused the greatest grief and consternation through the Provinces; each person mourned, as for his parent, his guardian, and friend. Being now deprived of the person whose wisdom had for many years been their principal support, they considered themselves as destitute and forlorn, and were overwhelmed with the most gloomy apprehensions of their future fate. Never were the titles of father of

his country and guardian of its laws, more justly applied, than to William. He generously sacrificed his interest, ease, and safety, to the publick good; and, first by counsel and persuasion, and afterwards by force of arms, did more to rescue his fellow-citizens from oppression, than was ever done in such unfavourable circumstances, by any patriot in the world before. His murderer was executed in a manner shocking to humanity; but, both in the interval before and at his execution, exhibited a degree of composure and tranquillity, that filled the spectators with astonishment.

CHAP. V.

The State of Affairs. Stadtholdership of Prince Maurice. The Government of the Earl of Leicester, and the Transactions in the Low-Countries, until the Arrival of the Archduke Albert.

A. D. 1584. A GENERAL gloom and despondency appeared in every face throughout the Netherlands, and anarchy reigned in the councils of the confederates. The provinces of Holland and Zealand were foremost to show their gratitude to the memory of William, by electing his second son Maurice their stadtholder, and captain-general by sea and land. William's eldest son, the count of Buren, was still a prisoner in Spain; and Maurice, at the time of his father's death, was finishing his studies at the university of Leyden. He was only in the eighteenth year of his age, but such rays of genius shone forth in his character, as approved him worthy of the honours bestowed. The states conferred upon him the greatest part of the dignities enjoyed by his father; and in order to supply his want of experience, and at the same time that they secured his being early instructed in the art of war, they appointed count Hohenloe, the most accomplished officer in the service, to be his lieutenant or deputy, until he should attain to greater maturity of years and experience. Such was the youth destined to oppose the duke of Parma, the most

renowned general of the age. It was imagined in Spain that the death of William would deprive the states not only of counsel, but of courage: it produced, however, very contrary effects. Revenge took place of despair; and horror at the assassination, so irritated the people, that they determined to prosecute the war with greater vigour and constancy than ever; and for the purpose of a still closer union, they renewed the treaty of Utrecht.

In the mean time the duke of Parma was not idle. He advanced with his whole army to besiege Antwerp; and after one of the most extraordinary sieges recorded in history, that city at last was obliged to capitulate. The bridge which the duke on this occasion built over the Scheldt, must for ever be considered as a most stupendous monument of genius and perseverance. Ghent also fell into his hands, and it was the general opinion that the fate of the provinces depended on these two great events. The states, as the most effectual expedient for recovering such heavy losses, sent a deputation to queen Elizabeth, and a treaty of alliance was the consequence, by which that princess engaged to furnish five thousand foot, and one thousand three hundred horse, besides the assistance of her fleet. The earl of Leicester shortly after landed with his forces, and was made governor-general, with power almost absolute. The misconduct and incapacity of Leicester soon became apparent, and the duke of Parma proceeded in a rapid course of conquests. Grave, and several other strong towns, were obliged to surrender to him. At length Leicester resolved to take the field in person,

and advanced with the whole army to Arnheim; but finding his army inferior to the enemy, he contented himself with blocking up Zutphen, into which the duke of Parma threw supplies at pleasure. It was in attacking one of those convoys, that the brave, generous, gallant, and amiable Sir Philip Sidney fell. Leicester, after laying heavy contributions on the neighbouring country, put his army into winter quarters, without effecting any thing agreeable to the publick expectation. Leicester, in the course of the winter, sailed for England, leaving the affairs of the provinces in a much worse situation than that in which he found them.

A. D. 1587. The reduction of Sluys, after a brave and desperate resistance, was the next conquest the duke of Parma added to his laurels. The return of the earl of Leicester only tended to renew the anarchy which had before prevailed, and which continued to increase until queen Elizabeth recalled him to England, then threatened with invasion by the armada. Elizabeth, to gain time for her own defence, made some efforts to open a negociation at Ostend between the Spaniards and the provinces, but every effort failed; and the duke of Parma again took the field. Notwithstanding his utmost exertions, he was completely baffled in his attempts upon Bergen-op-zoom, principally through the assistance of the English garrison. The year concluded with the siege of Wachtendock, an enterprise planned by count Mansveldt, in opposition to the duke of Parma's opinion, and that of other officers; but success justified his boldness, the garrison having surrendered, after the town had been nearly reduced to a heap of ashes.

At the commencement of this campaign, affairs took a different turn, and the decline of the Spanish power may be dated from this period. Prince Maurice, count Solmes, and Hohenloe, uniting their forces, retook Heusden, in sight of the Spanish army, which was in a state nearly approaching to mutiny, while the health of the duke of Parma rapidly declined. The Spaniards, under the marquis de Vacambon, the duke of Parma being at the Spa for the recovery of his health, besieged Rhimberg, which they at last got possession of, though not until they had received a severe defeat from the English forces, under Sir Francis Vere: but in Groningen, prince Maurice foiled the Spanish general in every attempt. He here exhibited sufficient proofs of his superior military talents and towering genius. A. D. 1589.

Breda and Gertruydenberg were the keys of Brabant, and the loss of the latter had wholly excluded the confederates from the province. A plan was laid for surprising Breda, which succeeded almost without a blow, nor could all the efforts of the duke of Parma regain possession of it. In addition to these successes, the naval power and wealth of the states were so much augmented from the exertions they had made against the privateers of Dunkirk, that they were not only able to furnish their contingencies for the supply of the armies, but even sent succours, both of men and money, to Henry IV. then fighting against the league and the king of Spain, by which means they effected a very powerful diversion in their own favour.

The duke of Parma being called away by

orders from Philip to march to the assistance of the duke of Mayenne, who had been defeated by Henry IV. left count Mansveldt to conduct the war. The confederates were not idle at this juncture; the greatest part of the Spanish forts were destroyed; Blamemberg was taken; and notwithstanding the duke of Parma's return, prince Maurice conducted the siege of Zutphen with so much vigour, that the garrison capitulated. Deventer also fell, as well as Delfiel, and all the neighbouring forts. The duke of Parma, anxious to check the progress of the prince, determined to attack Knotsemburg; but such were the precautions taken, Maurice at the same time advancing with his army, that the duke had but very little prospect of success, when he was again summoned to return to France, concluding his long and faithful services, in which he had deservedly acquired the reputation of an able and vigilant general. Maurice concluded a glorious and successful campaign, with the capture of Was and the strong city of Nimeguen, after a vigorous and well-conducted siege, leaving the frontiers, the country secured and covered by fortified towns, and the fairest prospect in another campaign of driving the Spaniards out of Friezland.

A. D. 1592. After some fruitless efforts of the emperor Rudolph to establish peace, Maurice took the field, and sat down before Steinwyck, a strong town on the frontiers of Overyssel. The garrison made a brave defence, but were at length obliged to surrender upon honourable conditions. Oknarsch, in the territory of Twente, was reduced before the close of the month; and Corvoerden, a strongly for-

tified town, in the district of Drante, was compelled to capitulate, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the Spanish general for its relief.

The retirement of the duke of Parma threw the Spanish affairs into the greatest state of confusion. Maurice had been preparing for the siege of Gertruydenberg, which he had deprived of all supplies. To prevent the place being succoured, he drew lines of circumvallation, on which wonderful expense, labour, and genius, were bestowed, and which he mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon. Mansveldt advanced with his whole army to its relief: and while Maurice, with a handful of men was repelling his efforts, he was at the same time advancing his works and battering a breach. The whole art of war was exhausted between the fruitful genius of the prince, and the long experience of Mansveldt. The garrison at last capitulated, and obtained honourable conditions. Thus ended the most remarkable siege in the whole war, the besiegers being themselves besieged by a greatly superior army, commanded by one of the best officers in the Spanish service. Mansveldt, on the surrender of the town, broke up his camp with an intention to attack Crevecœur; but to his great surprise he found the country inundated, and Maurice encamped on the only accessible eminence. Mansveldt, after expressing his astonishment at the prince's activity, retired highly disgusted at being thus foiled by a boy, and sent detachments into Friezland. A. D. 1592.

The prince's next exploit was to break off the communication between Germany and Gronin-

gen, which, in despite of the utmost efforts of Verdugo, he effected. The Spaniards resolved to attempt a decisive exploit, by surprising Maurice with his little army in his camp; but they found the confederates under arms, and an intrenchment thrown up the preceding night. They therefore retired into winter quarters, and the campaign ended with an unsuccessful effort made by Maurice to surprise Bruges, and an equally fruitless one of Mansvelt's to penetrate into Zealand.

A. D. 1594. This year the archduke Ernest was made governor of the Netherlands by Philip; but he soon incurred the contempt of both parties, who discovered that he was a weak, dissolute prince, directed by minions, and governed by women. Two attempts were made during the winter against the life of prince Maurice, both of which failed: and the conspirators were executed, after declaring that the archduke was privy to the plan, which was even debated in his council.

Several unsuccessful attempts on different places were made by both parties during the winter; but the principal object with Maurice was the reduction of Groningen, which he invested with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The attack and defence were equally vigorous; but Maurice having at length sprung a mine, and gained the graveline, the burghers dreading an assault, insisted on capitulating.

A mutiny at this time broke out in the Spanish army under Verdugo, the soldiers committing every species of excess, which embarrassed the exertions of the Spanish general, and prevented the adoption of vigorous measures.

On the councils assembling at Brussels, nothing but jealousy between the Flemings and Spaniards prevailed. Duke d'Archot warmly condemned the influence of the foreigners. The states, he said, were subject to Philip, not to Spain, and that his father did not convert them into pastures to fatten starved and emaciated Spaniards. The Flemings, in the council, decidedly declared it as their opinion, that peace was necessary, honourable, and very possible; in short that it was the best and most practicable measure. The death of the archduke happened soon after, and Fuentes was appointed governor, with the same power as Mansveldt had. The new governor was headstrong and ungovernable, and the first act of his administration was highly displeasing to the nation, and heightened their aversion.

Prince Maurice in the mean time laid siege to Giol, in the territory of Zutphen; but the appearance of a superior army obliged him to relinquish the enterprise, and he afterwards made a fruitless attempt to surprise Meurs, upon which both armies retired to quarters. Fuentes, by artful management, was however able to contrive to bring a numerous army into the field, nor was this the only difficulty the states had to encounter; and queen Elizabeth was incensed at their sending assistance to Henry, and threatened in violent terms to demand the payment of her subsidies; nor were the states able to pacify her, without promising twenty-four men of war to join her fleet against the Spaniards.

In the mean time Philip had laid a plan more deeply founded than at first imagined. Born to

vast possessions, and still larger designs, after a long dream of ambition and universal monarchy, depressed with disappointment, broken with infirmity, he had sacrificed health, ease, and all the pleasures of life, to vain glory and empty projects. His thoughts were now employed on that state of quiet which he had never suffered the world nor himself to experience. He saw himself dispossessed of seven provinces, and holding the rest upon the destructive tenure of an uncertain war. His obstinacy had given birth to a powerful republick, which had risen on the ruin of his dominions; and as his pride prevented his offering peace, he thought the cardinal archduke Albert the most proper person to whom he could commit the government of the Netherlands, from whose administration much might be expected, having governed Portugal with general approbation. He even intended to bestow the Netherlands as a dowry upon his daughter, the infanta Cara Isabella, in case of her marriage with the archduke. Previous to the new governor's leaving Spain, he procured the release of Philip, the late prince of Orange's eldest son, after twenty-eight years captivity, and even prevailed on the king to restore him to his titles and estates. Great expectations were formed of the influence of the prince who had been educated a rigid catholick; but as soon as the states heard of what was doing, they wrote to the prince, expressing their hope that the son and representative of that strenuous asserter of freedom the prince of Orange, would never swerve from the cause of liberty, and those maxims which had immortalized the memory of his heroick father. The prince, in his answer,

professed his sincere regard for the provinces, and assured them that his whole endeavours should be directed to obtain for them a just and honourable peace. Such was the situation of affairs when cardinal Albert was appointed to the government.

Grotius says that the states of Holland and Zealand alone, this year, sent seventy thousand sailors to sea; and were then the first naval power in Europe, having in one year built two hundred ships. A Dutch squadron, in conjunction with the English navy, was destroying the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, assisting in its reduction, undermining the Portuguese commerce in the East Indies, and ruining the Spanish plantations and settlements in the West. So early did the perseverance and commercial spirit of this republick distinguish itself.

CHAP. VI.

The Administration of Cardinal Albert; the Deaths of Philip the Second and Queen Elizabeth; and general Affairs to the year 1603.

A. D. 1596. CARDINAL Albert, on joining the army in the Low-Countries, directed his efforts to the siege of Hulst; and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of count Solmes their governor, and of Maurice, for their relief, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on terms extremely honourable; though not until the Spaniards had lost three thousand men in the siege. Maurice's inferiority was occasioned by the detachments sent to France, and the numerous body of troops with the earl of Essex in Spain, while the cardinal had thirty thousand men under his command.

A. D. 1597. During the winter, the archduke sent count de Vareux into Brabant, the inhabitants having implored his protection in consequence of the heavy contributions imposed by the states. Prince Maurice attacked the count in his march, and gained a complete victory with the loss of one hundred men only, the enemy leaving one thousand two hundred dead upon the field, and their military chest, with a great many colours and trophies of war. Turhout, in consequence, surrendered; and Maurice's trophies were deposited at the Hague, as a monument of his victory gained in the open field, all his successes

having before consisted in reducing and defending towns.

Although the activity of Albert enabled him to take the field with a considerable army, yet his attention was fully employed by the French monarch's investing Arras, whither Albert was obliged to march. Maurice did not neglect the opportunity, but crossed the Rhine, took Alphen, fell upon Meurs, which surrendered; took Grol, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the numerous garrison, and reduced the town of Briefort. After compelling Euschede, Oldenseel, and Otamauen, to receive his garrisons, he invested Linghen, which was forced to capitulate; upon which he put his army into quarters, and was received by the states with all the honours he so justly merited.

Negociations for peace were resumed during the winter; but notwithstanding the interference of the emperor, and the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the states had been too long engaged in the cause of freedom, for subjection to any master to appear tolerable; and every intercession therefore proved ineffectual. All the remonstrances of the states were however insufficient to prevent the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, a measure which was dictated by prudence as well as necessity with regard to the former. The ambassadors were however able to procure the renewal of the treaty with the queen of England, which enabled them to take the most vigorous measures for supporting the war.

In the mean time the councils of Philip were fluctuating and unsteady; that depth of understanding and refined policy for which he was

formerly celebrated, were clouded with disappointment, weakened by infirmity, and entangled in embarrassments. The only measure which appeared to him practicable to extricate himself, was to marry the archduke Albert to his daughter Isabella; and having resolved on this step, the archduke set off for Spain, leaving his brother the cardinal Andrea as his successor. Before his arrival, Philip was in extremities; and a variety of accidents retarding his journey, Philip had breathed his last before he could reach the court. The marriage was however solemnized; but all his entreaties to the states to acknowledge his new bride their natural princess, who, he promised, would govern them with the utmost lenity, indulgence, and affection, remained unnoticed. The command of the Spanish troops, which now amounted to twenty-five thousand men, devolved on Mendoza, who gained several considerable advantages, prince Maurice being too weak to oppose him in the field. His activity, vigilance, and address, however prevented the Spanish general from obtaining any important advantage. The year concluded with a rich capture, made by a small squadron equipped by prince Maurice; four Spanish merchantmen, richly laden, being taken before they got out of sight of Calais.

A. D. 1599. During the winter, prince Maurice surprised Emmerick, which was retaken by the Spaniards; but he, notwithstanding succeeded against Zavenar; while the states were, in the mean time, busily employed in devising new taxes and loans to defray the expenses of the ensuing campaign. The Infanta having published a proclamation, forbidding

the smallest intercourse between the United Provinces and Spain, the states busied themselves in equipping a fleet and raising levies, which were attended with great success. The first efforts of the archduke were directed against Bommel; but the vigilance of prince Maurice defeated his design. The difficulties he had to encounter, did not however discourage Mendoza from a second and more desperate attempt; nor was it unti rince Maurice had encamped under the walls, and made three desperate sallies against the besiegers, in the last of which the English and French auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and La Noue, had forced the Walloon quarter, that he thought of a retreat, which he effected with great judgment. An attempt on Neuverden also failed; but the confederates were equally unsuccessful in an attempt on Meguen, which the garrison defended with extreme valour.

In the mean time, the archduke Albert and his consort returned to the Low-Countries, and made their publick entry into Brussels with great magnificence. The United Provinces were at this period most ruinously divided among themselves, loud clamours being raised against the expenses of the war, and subsidies absolutely refused by some; when a most seasonable supply arrived from the king of France, who was aware that the penuriousness of the states would ruin the confederacy. Maurice, however, notwithstanding all his entreaty and persuasion, was compelled to reduce his forces, which would have had the most fatal effects ever felt by the states, had the enemy seized the opportunity now offered.

The fleet which had been fitted out at the commencement of the year, met with considerable success in plundering and destroying the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and returned to Holland, richly laden with booty of every kind, yet hardly sufficient to defray the heavy expenses of the armament.

A D. 1600. The distressed situation of the Spanish affairs, and the general mutinies among the soldiers for want of their pay, convinced prince Maurice that a fair opportunity now offered of attacking the Spaniards to advantage; but his powers were limited, and his forces inconsiderable. He was notwithstanding able to carry Wachtendrock, Crevecœur, and St. Andrew, the garrison of which latter place enlisted into the service of the states, where they behaved with the greatest courage and fidelity.

While Maurice was pursuing advantages, which could solely be attributed to his activity and ability, the states were obliged to have recourse to force to compel the states of Groningen and Friezland to furnish their contingents for the expenses of the campaign. William of Nassau was dispatched with an army for that purpose, and by a just mixture of vigour and persuasion succeeded to the utmost. Albert had equal difficulties to encounter in raising supplies, which determined the states to open the campaign with vigour, and to strike some blow, that might at the same time secure their commerce and confound the enemy. Notwithstanding all the difficulties which presented themselves, it was resolved to besiege Dunkirk, and the most active preparations were made for that purpose.

Maurice was scarcely arrived at Nieuport, when he learnt that the archduke was in full march to attack him, with a numerous army flushed with the reduction of all the forts the prince had left behind. Maurice detached Ernest of Nassau to check his progress; but notwithstanding the desperate valour of the Scotch troops under colonel Edmond, they were completely defeated at Leffingen, with the loss of nine hundred men. Albert resolved on attacking Maurice, while his army had hardly time to recover from the panick produced by prince Ernest's defeat, without waiting for a reinforcement of three thousand men, which was daily expected. Maurice was prepared for him, and drew up his army in order of battle; but ordered the fleet, with all the artillery and baggage, to sail for Ostend, to show the troops that they had no alternative but to conquer or to die. The eminences were planted with cannon, and that charge given to the sailors, who served with equal courage and alacrity. Never was there assembled a greater number of volunteers of distinction than at this time served under Maurice, to learn the art of war under a general so renowned. The English, German, and French nobility, formed the body-guard of the prince, and determined to share his fortune. Albert, after the artillery had been briskly served for three hours, began the charge; but the inconveniences the Spaniards sustained from the sun and clouds of sand, which the wind blew in their faces, almost determined him to suspend the attack until the following day, when the soldiers loudly demanded immediate battle, repeating a saying common in the wars against

the Moriscoes, "The more Moors, the more glorious the victory." Prince Maurice's cannon were so well served, and his fleet kept up such regular firing upon the enemy during high water, as forced them to remove to a greater distance from the shore. Both vans engaged with the utmost intrepidity, and sustained the fight with astonishing obstinacy. Albert directed his chief strength against the English, who baffled all his efforts, until Sir Francis Vere received a wound, which obliged him for the time to retire from the field. They were now supported by a body of French auxiliaries, and the battle became more general, the right wing of the confederates being deeply engaged with the left of the Spaniards. Here prodigious havock was made among the enemy, who repeatedly returned to the charge, after they were broken and repulsed by the incessant fire kept up by the artillery and musketry. Upon the left, the confederates frequently gave way, but were as constantly rallied, and supported with fresh troops, kept in reserve. At last both wings of the enemy were routed, and the centre, composed of the best Italian and Spanish infantry, alone stood firm, repelling all the efforts of Maurice, who vigorously attacked them with cavalry mixed with infantry. After the engagement had thus continued for three hours, and both sides seemed rather exhausted with fatigue than satiated with blood, four pieces of cannon were so happily pointed against this impregnable body of Spaniards, as put the whole in confusion, and victory at length declared in favour of the confederates. The fire of the artillery was seconded with a general charge of the cavalry, led

on by Maurice in person, and pushed with irresistible impetuosity. As soon as the enemy were perceived to waver, the Dutch horse cried out, Victory! The word instantly spread through the whole army. the centre of the infantry advanced, and fell on with fury; the archduke received a slight wound, and his troops were wholly disordered, dispersed, and routed. Five thousand men, besides officers, were slain and taken prisoners; among the latter was Mendoza: and thus ended the battle of Nieuport, brought on by the imprudence of the states, and gained by the courage and skill of Maurice, with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed and an equal number wounded on the side of the confederates.

The very existence of the United Provinces depended upon the fate of Maurice and his army; and nothing could exceed their joy on receiving the news of the victory, and the congratulations of the conqueror, who ascribed his good fortune to the goodness of divine Providence and the courage of his troops, claiming to himself no part of the merit. The behaviour of Maurice to Mendoza and Zapena, who, to the mortification of being prisoners, had the additional affliction of being mortally wounded, diffused a spirit of humanity through the whole army. Notwithstanding the utmost care, Zapena died in a few days, filled with sentiments of the deepest veneration and gratitude for the character of Maurice, whose conduct more resembled that of a father than of the conqueror of an inveterate foe.

Albert set out the day after the battle for Ghent, where the affection, the firmness, and

intrepidity of the princess inspired fresh hopes and new courage. He recruited his army with such expedition, that he reinforced the garrison of Nieuport before the confederates had left Ostend; and so obstinate was the resistance, that Maurice was forced to abandon the design entirely, and content himself in making fruitless irruptions into the enemy's country, until he put his army into winter quarters.

The winter was consumed in useless negociations, while both parties prepared with activity for the ensuing campaign. The states had received fresh remittances from France, and by new duties on merchandize considerably increased their revenue. Prince Maurice took the field early in the season, defeated a body of the enemy at Gravenswaert, and carried the fortress of Rhimberg, on the Rhine. Albert, in the mean time, with a powerful army, sat down before Antwerp, which was most resolutely defended, and torrents of blood spilt. While the Spaniards were thus employed, Maurice was left master of the field, and determined to attack Bois-le-duck; but the weakness of his army compelled him to relinquish the enterprise. The siege of Ostend in the mean time continued with unabated vigour, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and the murmurs of the soldiers. The spirit, perseverance, and gallantry of Sir Francis Vere animated his troops, who made innumerable sallies, and with invincible intrepidity repulsed a desperate attempt to storm the town through a breach which had been effected. The increased severity of the season at length compelled the archduke to suspend the siege, but he did not relinquish his en-

terprise. The exhausted garrison was in the mean time exchanged for fresh troops, which the open communication by sea enabled the states to effect.

Maurice was not inactive; but finding it impossible to raise the siege of Ostend by land, sat down before Grave, one of the strongest bulwarks in the Netherlands, which, notwithstanding the exertions of Mendoza and a body of fourteen thousand men, was compelled to surrender, after a brave resistance of ten weeks.

This year was ushered in with the death of queen Elizabeth; upon which the states lost no time in sending a message to king James, in the hope of securing his interest. In the mean time, Maurice, by his prudence, activity, and penetration, was prepared to meet a body of the Spaniards, under the marquis De Bella, whom he completely defeated. The siege still continued, but proceeded very slowly, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Rivas the Spanish general; when the marquis Spinola, spurred on by the love of glory, accepted the command, in which he soon displayed his capacity. The impending danger of Ostend determined the states to attempt the reduction of Sluys, which, after a thousand difficulties, and several bloody rencounters, prince Maurice was at last able to effect. A. D. 1603.

Ostend was at last compelled to surrender, but upon the most honourable terms, to the prodigious exertions of Spinola, after a three years siege, which had employed the principal part of the Spanish forces, and cost the lives of one hundred thousand brave men, all the works being nearly reduced to ruins. Formidable mu-

tinies in the mean time broke out in the Spanish forces, which were with difficulty quelled, even by the return of Spinola from Spain with money to discharge their arrears. A bold attempt made by Maurice on Antwerp failed, through a variety of cross accidents, while Spinola made several inconsiderable conquests. But his progress was checked by the vigilance of Maurice, who, however, failed in a fine project he had formed for surprising the Spanish camp; as did an attempt on Guelders, which ended the campaign.

A fever, with which Spinola was attacked in Spain, delayed his operations until the middle of summer, which was of the utmost benefit to the United Provinces. He, however, at last took the field, and, in spite of Prince Maurice, reduced Rhimberg, and relieved Grol, which had been besieged. Several desperate engagements also occurred between the fleets, with various success; but the arrival of the richest India fleet ever known, encouraged the states to the highest pitch.

A. D. 1606. The court of Spain at length began to talk of peace, and the archduke even sent deputies to the Hague to treat with the United Provinces as a free people. But although a congress was formed, yet the ambition of Maurice, and the insolent demands of the deputies prevented its coming to any satisfactory conclusion. But the weighty interference of the neighbouring powers, and the reasonable propositions offered by Spain, at length produced a truce for twelve years, on terms mutually beneficial, the states having obtained the end of all their desperate resistance and invincible perseverance in the cause of liberty.

CHAP. VII.

The Civil and Political Transactions of the New Republick, until the Expiration of the Truce in 1621, *and from that Period until the Year* 1633.

THE United Provinces had scarcely tasted the sweets of peace, when religious disputes arose to blight the felicity procured by obstinate valour and invincible resolution. The Calvinists and Arminians long agitated the publick opinion by theological disquisitions, which convinced neither party, though the necessities of the state silenced them for a time. A treaty with the emperor of Morocco secured many valuable commercial privileges to the republick; but the death of the duke of Cleves, without issue, again involved the provinces in a short war with the archduke, which, by the interference of England and France, was accommodated, and the truce renewed.

The re-establishment of peace renewed the religious contentions; the Arminians being supported chiefly by Barneveldt, Grotius, Vossius, and the whole body of the learned, with many of the magistrates. These disputes soon became political, and the developement of prince Maurice's ambitious designs for establishing a sovereignty was chiefly checked by the firmness of Barneveldt. The prince, however, put himself at the head of the party opposing the new

reformers, and artfully refused the request of the states who implored his protection, to suppress the outrages which the mutual violence of the parties had produced.

A. D. 1614. Maurice at length threw off the mask, and seized on Brille, and even went so far as to offer violence to the privileges of Utrecht. He afterwards had sufficient interest to procure an order from the states for the imprisonment of Barneveldt, the virtuous and venerable leader of the Arminians, who was shortly tried and executed; a measure which ruined the character of Maurice, and withered those laurels acquired by long and important services.

A. D. 1621. The commercial wealth and naval power of the Dutch had now risen to the utmost height, and the foundation was laid of an empire at Batavia, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the republick, where the providence of the Dutch seemed to secure a retreat, in case by any fatal accident their liberties should be destroyed. Such was their situation on the expiration of the truce; but the long cessation of hostilities soon appeared to have produced no other effect than enabling the parties to resume the war with redoubled vigour.

Spinola took the field with a considerable army, carried Juliers, but was obliged to raise the siege of Bergen-op-zoom. Maurice also failed in a well-laid scheme against Antwerp, and narrowly escaped assassination from the injured family of Barneveldt. As the winter approached, the armies on both sides retired into winter-quarters, and fruitless negociations were re-

sumed, in this, as in every preceding winter. The United Provinces, at this time, met with prodigious success in their naval operations, having extended their fleets even to South America.

Notwithstanding the powerful armies and great exertions of the Spaniards, an expedition which they had attempted into the Provinces completely failed, through the precautions of Maurice. They, however, sat down to the siege of Breda, the strongest fortified town in the Netherlands, the conquest of which Maurice was determined to prevent; but the failure of his attack on Antwerp, by which he hoped to divert the attention of the Spanish general, compelled him to withdraw his army; soon after which he fell a victim to care, chagrin, and disappointment, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, the greatest part of which had been spent in the service of his country; of which he was considered the preserver, and the greatest statesman and warrior of his age. Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, and sagacious, he united all the qualities of a general and a hero, with the knowledge of a scholar. Ambition, the weakness of a great mind, was his only foible; it sometimes shaded, but never concealed his extraordinary merit, his generosity, or patriotism: like a cloud before the sun, it damped the ardour, but could not obscure the radiance of his glory.

Breda, after a most furious siege of ten months, was at length obliged to surrender, but on the most advantageous conditions; and Spinola soon after resigned the command. The great preparations of the Spa- A. D. 1627.

niards, rendered it necessary that the states should act with the utmost vigour and unanimity. The army took the field under the command of prince Henry, who had succeeded to the titles and estates of his brother: after defeating an attempt of the Spaniards upon Sluys, he reduced Grol, and behaved to the city with the greatest humanity. The prince pursued his advantages, and about the same time a treaty of alliance was concluded with England.

A. D. 1629. The war continued for a long time with various success; but the capture of the flota from New Spain, the richest prize ever made by the Hollanders, being valued at fifteen millions of livres, intoxicated the states to success; and nothing was thought of but publick rejoicings. Prince Henry, in the mean time, employed himself with the most daring attempt made during the war, against Bois-le-duck, a place of uncommon strength; and which, from never having been taken, was called the *Maid of Brabant*. After a siege of great length, and notwithstanding the greatest efforts for its relief, it at last surrendered; and the advantages to be derived from the acquisition were so great, that the states totally disregarded the immense sums it had cost them. A rapid course of good fortune, not only in the Netherlands, but also in Asia and America, attended the Provinces; and the negociation for a truce of thirty-four years, on the same footing as the former, were broken off.

The prudence, valour, and great moderation of prince Henry, had raised him to a higher degree of credit with the states and the people, than either his father or brother had enjoyed;

and the states therefore resolved to testify their gratitude, by making the office of stadtholder hereditary in their family.

The archduchess soon perceived that the vigilance of Henry would baffle all her plans in the usual method of carrying on the campaign: she therefore resumed a scheme, which had been formed two years before, to cut off the communication between Holland and Zealand. Henry was however prepared with his fleet, and after a desperate conflict of six hours, count John was totally defeated, and of the whole armament, only eleven officers escaped. A. D. 1631.

In the Brazils, the Spanish fleet was encountered by the Dutch admiral Pater, with 17 ships, ten of which basely fled before the action began. Pater however determined to supply the want of numbers by courage: he sunk four and burned six of their ships, before he could be surrounded. After having long kept the victory in suspense, he had one of his finest vessels blown up; and this loss was succeeded by another, still more fatal. His own ship took fire, and Pater with four hundred seamen perished in the flames. The five remaining ships however fought with redoubled vigour: but at last, perceiving that they must sink under superior numbers, they made one desperate effort, broke through the enemies line, and after destroying four ships, steered their course unpursued to Olinda. The victory remained with the Spaniards; but it was so dearly purchased, that they were totally unable to resume offensive operations during the year.

A treaty was this year concluded between the states and the King of Sweden, with the view of a joint attack upon the Spaniards; and the prince of Orange began the campaign A. D. 1632.

with uncommon success. Venlo, Maestricht, Limburgh, and the whole of Spanish Guelderland, submitted to the arms of the confederates; soon after which the campaign, so glorious to the prince of Orange, and advantageous to the republick, concluded.

A. D. 1633. Early in this year, negociations were set on foot by the court of Brussels; but the prince of Orange was not to be diverted from his military operations by conferences. Notwithstanding a reinforcement of twelve thousand Swedes, the reduction of Rhimberg was the only important success of the campaign, owing principally to the wetness of the season. The negociations were resumed during the winter, but without effect; and the death of the archduchess, lamented equally by Spaniards, Flemings, and Dutch, for her prudence, moderation, piety, and humanity, soon after happened.

A. D. 1634. Towards the close of the year, the cardinal infant Albert arrived to take upon him the government; and the greatest hopes were entertained from a prince known to be of a warlike disposition, and admitted to possess the talents of a sound politician.

A. D. 1635. An alliance between the States and Lewis XIII. being concluded, their armies were accordingly united, and Tillemont, with several other places were taken. The success of the confederates seems however to have ended here. The siege of Louvain, which Henry was obliged to abandon, cost him above six thousand of his best men, and the enemy surprised fort Schenck, which was retaken after a tedious siege.

In the ensuing campaign, the Prince of Orange besieged Breda, which surrendered; while the Spaniards only gained a few trifling advantages at sea, which closed the campaign. On the renewal of hostilities in the spring, the prince of Orange attempted the reduction of Antwerp, but his scheme was frustrated. Several other successes gained by the Spaniards rendered this campaign more glorious to them than any of the preceding. A. D. 1637.

Great expectations were this year formed from the fleet under VAN TROMP, one of the best naval officers that Holland ever produced; and he had soon an opportunity to justify the high opinions formed of him. He defeated the Spanish admiral off Gravelines, after a bloody conflict of six hours; and not long afterwards, with only eighteen sail of the line, fell in with the most powerful fleet which Europe had seen since the famous armada; dispersed the van in the night, and the next morning attacked the Spanish admiral, yard arm to yard arm, sunk his ship, took four more; and a thick fog alone prevented him from pursuing his advantages. Having received a reinforcement, another action ensued in which both sides fought with incredible fury. For eight hours, the Spaniards made an obstinate resistance, but were at last totally defeated, with the loss of fourteen men of war. Thirteen more afterwards fell into the hands of the Dutch, only eleven of which could be carried off, and of the whole armament, only eight reached Dunkirk. A. D. 1639.

This and the succeeding campaign were undistinguished by any important enterprise. A truce for ten years A. D. 1640.

was concluded with Portugal, and prince William gained a signal victory over the Spaniards.

A. D. 1644. The negociations at Munster did not impede the operations for war, which prince Henry commenced with considerable success: but this was his last campaign. After lingering until the year 1647, under a variety of chronical disorders, sufficient to render life miserable, and death certain, he yielded up his last breath in the 67th year of his age, regretted as a martyr to his country. His complicated maladies were brought on by the assiduity, diligence, and anxiety with which he pursued the interests of the republick; and no prince of Orange was ever more generally or deservedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all suspicion of duplicity, he was justly esteemed the best politician and the greatest warrior of his age. He loved virtue, cherished science, rewarded merit, maintained general harmony, set his soldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity, and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend and father of his family. Though superior to corruption, and inviolable in his attachment to his country, yet he was not insensible to the charms of ambition, which however never interfered with the welfare or independence of his country. He was succeeded by his son William II. who was invested with all the offices held by his father and uncle.

A. D. 1648. The negociations at Munster had still continued, and at length, articles of peace were finally concluded between Spain and the United Provinces. The King of Spain renounced all right over the republick, which was declared free and independent, and both parties were to remain in possession of what they

severally held at that time. Thus the sovereignty of the republick was finally acknowledged by the power which alone disputed it, at the expense of her blood and treasure, and with an obstinacy scarcely to be paralleled in history.

The repose of peace seems only to have produced civil dissentions among the Provinces, which had risen to such a height that William resolved to besiege Amsterdam with his army, in order to reduce the refractory citizens to submission. He however met with a more determined resistance than he expected, and was obliged to raise the siege. William's designs were now obvious. All accused him of betraying his country, and of using the forces destined for protection to the purposes of ambition. Happily, perhaps, for himself and his country, he died this year of the small-pox. As his virtues were acknowledged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occasioned emotions both of joy and grief. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and he inherited the qualities of a hero from his ancestors, which he improved by the closest application. His constitution was saturnine, his silence remarkable, and all his passions absorbed in the single one of ambition. His person was handsome and elegant, and the features of his face beautiful and manly. Though only in the 24th year of his age, he had made great progress in all the sciences, and spoke six languages with fluency. Eight days after his death, his widow was delivered of a young prince, who was stripped in his cradle of all the honours enjoyed by his ancestors. All the remonstrances of the princess dowager had no effect: the states resumed the prerogatives of the Stadthoder, and A. D. 1649.

annexed them to the sovereignty of the United Provinces.

William III. like Hercules, from his birth had difficulties to encounter. His guardianship was warmly disputed, but finally determined by his father's will in favour of the princess royal. The people yet loved the family, and though disgusted with the ambition of the late Prince, they regarded the infant as the only remaining blood of those heroes who had rescued the country from tyranny and oppression, and finally established their religion and liberties.

A. D. 1651. This year commenced with a grand assembly of the states-general, who began by revoking the powers and prerogatives formerly bestowed on the stadtholders. The increasing trade and wealth of the republick at length excited the jealousy of England. Various obsolete demands were set up as the grounds of war, and early in 1652 hostilities commenced. The command of the Dutch fleet was conferred upon Van Tromp, who refused to lower his topsails to the English flag. An engagement immediately ensued, which was maintained for four hours with the utmost fury, when a reinforcement of eight ships to the English fleet induced Van Tromp to retire. The English admiral Blake, next attacked the Dutch fisheries of Shetland, and took 12 men of war, while Van Tromp's squadron was twice shattered and dispersed by violent winds, at the moment he had given the signal to engage, as if the elements had conspired against the glory of this hero, but these misfortunes rather animated than depressed the states-general. They promoted De Ruyter, a man whose extraordinary merit had raised him to distinction from a cabin-boy, and his conduct soon justified his election. A desperate

battle was fought near Plymouth, which lasted for two days, when both sides claimed the victory, with almost equal justice.

Van Tromp's late undeserved misfortunes had rendered him unpopular, and he was deprived of the command. De Wit and Ruyter were now associated, and they sailed in quest of Blake, whom they met returning with vast booty from his late cruises. The battle was desperate, but Blake fought in person with such fury that he scattered death and dismay wherever he appeared. Night separated the combatants, but in the morning the English were drawn up in line of battle, ready to renew the fight, when it appeared that the Dutch had sailed for the coast of Holland.

Van Tromp was now reinstated in the command, and soon after met Blake near Dover. The battle was contested with equal obstinacy as before; but victory, from superiority of numbers, at last declared for the Dutch. Van Tromp's vanity however blighted his laurels, having proceeded in his voyage with a broom fixed to his main-topmast, intimating that he would sweep the channel clear of the English.

Tromp had already convoyed home in safety a valuable fleet of merchantmen, and was sailing with another, when he was met by the English admiral. Never was an engagement more terrible or obstinate: Blake sought to retrieve the reputation he had lost, and Van Tromp to maintain the laurels he had won. Neither side would yield; the engagement was renewed for three days successively. At the close of the third day, Tromp drew off his fleet, with the loss of eleven men of war, two thousand men killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the En-

A. D. 1653.

glish fleet was too shattered to pursue. On this event, prince Charles, afterwards king of England, requested that the states-general would supply him with a squadron, in which he would embark and either gain a victory, or a period to his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious subjects: but little regard was paid to his offer, the states preferring the thoughts of peace to the fruitless honour of having a king fighting their battles.

Such was the situation of affairs when M. De Wit was raised to the office of pensioner of Holland *. De Wit was the staunch friend of liberty, a personal enemy to the House of Orange, and a strenuous advocate for peace with England, which he knew to be the most effectual method of silencing the general clamours for a Stadtholder. Van Tromp again sailed with his fleet for the coast of Flanders, where he descried the English under the command of Monk. They immediately engaged and fought with the utmost fury until night interposed. At last the Dutch withdrew, all Tromp's menaces and persuasions being ineffectual to bring his officers back to the charge. Tromp had been twice taken and rescued, six of his best ships were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken. Night alone saved his fleet from destruction, by affording him an opportunity of taking shelter where he could not be pursued; while the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the Texel.

* The nature of this, and other offices of state, is explained in the first chapter, p. 76. Indeed without a just conception of the old constitution, many parts of this history would be obscure. Since the French revolution, the Colleges of Magistracy have been changed into Committees, and the states-general into a Directory; but, if we except the abolition of the Stadtholderate and hereditary distinctions of nobility, the general principles of the constitution remain unaltered.

A second battle was not long afterwards fought, which brought the war to a speedy issue. Van Tromp, with one hundred and twenty sail, met the English fleet of ninety-four ships, under the command of Monk, near Scheveling, and immediately gave the signal for action. Tromp fought with the most desperate fury, but was killed, gallantly giving his orders on the quarter deck. His last words were, *Take courage, my boys; I have run my course with glory.* His successor behaved in a manner worthy of his situation, but no exertions could prevent the universal despondency on the death of Van Tromp being known; the Dutch lost twenty-six men of war, four thousand men killed, and two thousand prisoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors saved from a watery grave. Nothing but peace was now thought of; and a treaty was concluded, by which the family of Orange were excluded from the stadtholdership, and several other important concessions to Cromwell were made. The guardians of the Prince remonstrated against this exclusion, and De Wit was personally though unjustly charged with being the author of the act.

The restoration of Charles II. to the English throne, and the dependence into which De Wit had been forced on the court of France, proved the occasion of a war between England and the States; although De Wit, when he found the consequences of his imprudence, anxiously avoided an actual rupture. Battles fought on land, generally bring acquisition of territory; but naval engagements frequently produce nothing but glory; and it may be questioned whether the worst peace between trading nations is not preferable to a successful war. A. D. 1663.

While unsteadiness prevailed among the states, the duke of York cruised with his fleet before the Texel; and made several captures, before a fleet was ready to oppose him. Admiral Opdam at last sailed, with positive instructions to give battle on pain of death. The fleets soon met; but previous to the engagement, Opdam called a council of his officers, and showed them his instructions. "We must," said he, "pluck laurel or the cypress; there is no alternative." Never was a sea-fight more confused or terrible. Three persons of quality were killed by the side of the duke of York, and admiral Opdam, with a number of volunteers of distinction, was blown into the air. After the most obstinate conflict ever known, the Dutch were defeated, with the loss of eighteen ships. Through the indefatigable exertions of De Wit, another fleet was speedily ready to sail. De Wit himself resolved to embark on board the fleet, and to hazard his life for the defence of the state. The elements however seem to have combated against them. Two armaments were shattered by storms, while the councils were languid and distracted by opposite opinions and interests. But the return of De Wit changed the face of affairs. The murmurs of contention were silenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wisdom, the policy, and the sagacity of the pensioner, who now was deemed the life and soul of the states.

A. D. 1666. The Dutch armament sailed under the command of Ruyter, having on the 1st of June fell in with the English squadron under the duke of Albemarle, who immediately bore down to the attack. The battle was des-

perate beyond description for four successive days, and both admirals fought as if one would not suffer a superior or the other an equal. The duke of Albemarle, though in the vale of life, fought with the courage and ardour of a youthful warrior, but was at last compelled to retire under the cover of a thick fog, but with so formidable an appearance as to give him some title to dispute the victory which the Dutch claimed. The slaughter on both sides was prodigious, and hardly a ship on either side was undamaged. The pensionary De Wit, who was no friend to the English, could not deny his testimony of applause to their conduct, having said, "That if they were defeated, "their misfortune redounded more to their "honour than all their former victories. EN- "GLISHMEN," said he, "may be killed: "ENGLISH ships may be burned; but EN- "GLISH COURAGE is INVINCIBLE."

The English fleet was soon refitted, and another engagement, equal to the former in obstinacy, was fought between the same admirals; but the Dutch were completely defeated, and compelled to seek safety in their ports. De Ruyter attributed his failure to the young Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding his popularity, was superseded in his command.

In this year various offers were made for a negociation; and in the following spring, a peace was concluded at Breda, by which both parties retained their respective acquisitions during the war. A. D. 1667.

While general tranquillity thus appeared to be re-established, Lewis XIV. was meditating the execution of a project of ob- A. D. 1668.

taining universal empire. His ambition grasped at every thing, and his power enabled him to gratify every aspiring wish. It was to stop the progress of Turenne, who had already advanced at the head of forty thousand men, that a triple alliance was formed, the object of which was to restrain the power of Lewis. The court of France knew what was going on, and resolved to detach the king of England from the confederacy, which the necessities of Charles enabled them to effect. Holland, at this time, divided by factions, had scarcely time to form any solid measures for the security of the state, which seemed devoted to destruction. Lewis was ready with three armies to burst into the heart of her dominions, while there was nothing to oppose the inundation, the whole power of the state consisting in her navy, upon which the pensioner had bestowed all his attention: but De Wit had now lost his credit, and with some degree of reason, as enmity to the house of Orange had certainly carried him too far in his oppositon to England, and his complaisance to France had extinguished every spark of military discipline in the republick. He could no longer resist the voice of the whole nation, to place the prince of Orange at the head of their little army; and while the prince was endeavouring to provide for a vigorous defence, he resolved to make one desperate effort at sea. Lewis in the mean time had reduced the Dutch to the necessity of laying their country under water. An engagement between the English and Dutch fleets was fought, which De Ruyter declared was the most obstinate of two-and-thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both sides fought like men accustomed to claim the em-

pire of the ocean; but although the victory was claimed by the English, the advantage was certainly in favour of the Dutch. A disputed victory could not serve the purposes of De Wit, and offers of peace were accordingly made. The terms insisted on by Lewis were little short of making him completely master of the whole republick: nor were the demands of the English less exorbitant. It was owing to the prince of Orange alone that these grievous terms were not accepted. He had infused such a spirit into the people, that they relied wholly upon him. The sovereignty was now placed in his view, but his ambition aspired higher. Eager to become the saviour of his country, he spurned the thoughts of trampling on her liberties, at a time when she most wanted his assistance, and declared he would defend the country, or perish in the last dyke.

De Wit, in the full lustre of prosperity, had been envied and admired; in his decline, he was loaded with curses by a people, who placed to his account all their calamities. A Dutch writer styled him the *Jonas* of the state, and that by throwing him over-board the storm would be appeased. The two brothers, Cornelius and John De Wit still opposed, from motives of true patriotism, the repeal of the act excluding the prince of Orange, but the popular fury was not to be restrained. John De Wit was attacked by four ruffians and left for dead in the street, while his brother was accused by an infamous barber of having offered him 32,000 guelders to assassinate the prince of Orange. The charge refuted itself; but the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced to condemn him to the tor-

ture, to confiscate his estate, divest him of his employments, and sentence him to perpetual banishment. His constancy never shrunk under the most excruciating pains, which he endured with unshaken fortitude, protesting his innocence, and at every respite, repeating that beautiful ode of Horace, *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*. His brother, the pensioner, with truly fraternal affection, not only countenanced him through the whole proceeding, wiped away his tears and consoled him in his adversity, but determined to share his misfortunes by accompanying him in exile. While he was visiting him in prison, the deluded populace broke open the doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embrued their savage hands in the blood of those sons of liberty who had merited so well of their country, and treated the dead bodies with the most inhuman indignity. Nothing can more strongly characterize the cool, phlegmatick, deliberate barbarity of the people than this tragical event. "The "pensionary De Wit," says Sir William Temple, "deserved another fate and a better return "from his country, after 18 years spent in their "ministry, without any care of his entertain- "ments or ease, and a little of his fortune: a "man of unwearied industry, inflexible con- "stancy, sound, clear, and deep understanding, "with untainted integrity, so that, whenever he "was blinded, it was by the passion he had for "that which he esteemed the good and interest "of the state." The prince of Orange seemed touched at this terrible sacrifice; he made the pensioner's eulogium, and ordered the murderers to be prosecuted: however, the clemency he showed them, and the animosity he bore the De

Wit's raised strong suspicions that he secretly countenanced the barbarous act.

The elevation of the prince of Orange to the situation of commander in chief, with many other privileges, was the immediate consequence of these outrages. At an extraordinary assembly, he encouraged the states in a speech of three hours to continue the war; and he also made surprising efforts to assemble an army. The English fleet intended for the invasion of Zealand was dispersed by a storm; and while Luxemburg was marching over the ice to the attack of Amsterdam, a sudden thaw had nearly destroyed himself and his army. The English and Dutch fleets shortly afterwards fought a most desperate battle, when the Dutch gained the victory. A. D. 1673.

After the war had for some time continued with various success, a congress was opened at Nimeguen, though the prince of Orange was strenuous against a peace until the power of France should be humbled. After various difficulties, a treaty was at length concluded, by which the frontier of the United Provinces was secured. In this year, the prince of Orange was married to Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, afterwards James II. A. D. 1674.

The peace of Nimeguen, as might be foreseen, instead of setting bounds to the ambition of Lewis XIV. only left him at leisure to perfect that scheme of universal monarchy in Europe, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; but which at last roused a new and more powerful confe- A. D. 1688.

deracy against him. It was agreed to by Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy; and the accession of England was only wanting, to enable them to humble the common enemy. The discontents in England at the government of James were now arrived at their utmost height; and William, from the moment of his marriage with the lady Mary, had always kept his eye on the English crown. Several English noblemen and gentlemen had invited him to deliver them from popery and arbitrary power, and he determined to accede to their proposals. The success attending his attempt, immediately produced the sanction of England to the treaty of Augsburgh.

Lewis XIV. was neither inactive nor dismayed at the formidable appearance which the confederacy against him assumed; and trusting to his great resources, prepared himself to quell the storms which his ambition had raised, with a vigour proportioned to the occasion. With four hundred thousand men in the field, he yet found himself inferior to the allies; and the war continued with various success until 1696, when all parties seemed heartily tired of the contest. A congress for a general peace under the mediation of Charles II. of Sweden, was at length opened at Ryswyck. The concessions made by Lewis were very considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession, were left in full force, though the renunciation of those claims had been the great object of the war.

A. D. 1701. All the free states on the continent were this year thrown into alarm, by the death of Charles II. of Spain, and his

will in favour of the house of Bourbon. Lewis, though hesitating whether to adhere to the partition treaty or not, yet was unable to resist the vanity of placing his grandson on the throne of Spain. The reasons which Lewis gave for this conduct were by no means satisfactory to William and the United Provinces; but they cautiously concealed their resentment, until they were in a better condition to support it by a decisive measure. The mere circumstance of the union of France and Spain rendered war unavoidable; and the famous treaty generally known by the name of the "Grand Alliance," was agreed to by the emperor, the king of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces. Before the armies however could take the field, William died; but the conduct of Anne his successor, soon convinced the confederates, that the same conduct would be pursued as before. The allied armies took the field, and the successes of the duke of Marlborough on the side of Flanders, completely balanced the advantages gained by the French in Italy.

Louis XIV. was finally so humbled by the later events of the war, that he made offers which would have effected the chief object of the grand alliance; but the proposals were wantonly rejected, and Europe destined for many years longer to remain a scene of carnage, confusion, and distress. The confederates at last came to a resolution, "that no peace should be made with the house of Bourbon, while a prince of that house continued to sit upon the Spanish throne," thereby changing the original plan of the confederacy. A. D. 1706.

A. D. 1709. Another effort was this year made by the French monarch, for restoring tranquillity to Europe. The defeat at Oudenarde, the taking of Lisle, a famine in France, the failure of resources, and want of harmony among his servants, induced him to make offers, at once adequate to the success of his enemies, and suitable to the melancholy condition of his own affairs. But his terms, so honourable as well as advantageous to the allies, were rejected by the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the pensionary Heinsius. The next year conferences were opened at Gertruydenburg, but with as little effect as before; the Dutch having the insolence to insist that Lewis, instead of paying a subsidy, should assist the confederates with all his forces to drive his grandson from the Spanish throne.

A. D. 1715. Treaties between the different contending powers, so long negociated, were at last finally signed at Utrecht by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and the United Provinces, the emperor alone resolving to continue the war. The basis of this treaty was the renunciation of Philip to the crown of France, and the renunciation of the next heirs to the French monarchy of all claim to the crown of Spain.

By this treaty, Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, Mons, Menin, Fournay, and some other places, were given to the states-general; cessions, it must be admitted, very inadequate to the ruinous expenses of the war.

A. D. 1746. Holland was now permitted to enjoy some suspension from military levies and contributions, and was able to prosecute

her commercial designs with that perseverance and vigilance which so inevitably produce success. Happily for the country, that state of repose continued, until the general war about the Austrian succession embroiled the whole continent of Europe. From the insidious designs of Mareschal Saxe in marching into Dutch Brabant, the states took the alarm, and the friends of the Prince of Orange did not omit an opportunity so favourable to his interest. They encouraged the discontents of the people, at the supineness of their governors, and the people were so inflamed by their representations, that the Prince of Orange was declared stadtholder; a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William the third. The beneficial effects of this measure soon appeared in several vigorous measures. A fleet was equipped; a militia raised; the exportation of naval stores prohibited; and orders were issued for commencing hostilities against France without any delay. The French arms were, however, at first successful; and the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom threw the United Provinces into the utmost consternation. During the winter, however, a congress met at Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended in the peace of that name, the general basis of which was the mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, and a release of prisoners without ransom. The peace, upon the whole, was as good as the confederates could expect; they had never hazarded a battle in the Netherlands without a defeat, and there was little prospect of their being more successful. Indeed it was even feared that another Campaign

would have awed the United Provinces into submission.

A. D. 1756. During the long war which this year broke out between the French and the English, the states-general wisely determined on remaining neutral, nor was it until the great ascendancy which the commerce of their East India Company enabled them to acquire on that continent, that they were involved in a contest with the English. The avarice of the Republick, and that grasping spirit which no principles could restrain, or treaties moderate, induced to form a conspiracy, the most atrocious for the extirpation of their rivals. The English were, however, upon their guard, and not only completely destroyed a body of land forces which the Dutch had sent up the river Slughley, but gave battle to a squadron of seven ships of the line, and obliged the whole to strike, after an obstinate engagement, though their opponents had only three East India ships manned and armed for the purpose. This destruction of the whole armament induced the settlement in India to submit to such terms as the government of Calcutta thought proper to impose, and the states-general disclaimed to the British Ministry, in Europe, all idea of hostile intentions.

A. D. 1766. The dignity of Stadtholder being now rendered perpetual, the Prince of Orange, on attaining the twenty-first year of his age, this year took the administration upon him, an event affording a great addition of strength to the protestant system. The great rejoicings on this occasion, through all the United Provinces, strongly demonstrated the great weight which the princes of that House bore in the Republick.

The Stadtholder soon afterwards married the princess royal of Prussia, an event the most pleasing to the whole provinces, as they by this measure formed an alliance with a great and powerful neighbour, whose disposition, if not a certain friend, was always to be dreaded.

In this year, a most alarming insurrection broke out among the negroes in the colony of Surinam, which endangered the possession of the extensive and valuable settlements in that quarter. The insurgents not only provided themselves with arms and ammunition, but had acquired the knowledge of using them, by the example of their masters, and they defeated the soldiers and militia in several engagements. They even displayed great adroitness in the use of several pieces of cannon which fell into their hands. A fleet of considerable strength was immediately fitted out in Holland, for the purpose of reducing them, which they effected not without difficulty. A. D. 1772.

In this year, the states of Holland renewed the charter of their East India Company, upon such liberal terms as might tend considerably to restore the commercial importance of that esatblishment, which had been greatly impoverished by the increasing trade and power of the English in that quarter, as well as various losses. The sum stipulated for the charter, for thirty years, was two millions of florins instead of three, which had been before paid for a like term. A. D. 1776.

During the contest between Great Britain and her colonies in America, the Dutch cautiously avoided being drawn into the confederacy which had been A. D. 1780.

formed against the Mother Country, but they certainly took every means of supplying the revolted states with stores of every description, to which their constant thirst of gain excited them. The capture of St. Eustatius, however, which had been long a port of refuge as well as of equipment for American privateers, and the severe and unwarrantable conduct of the British commanders, in the confiscation of all the property found there, to the amount of three millions sterling, was an outrage not to be passed by. Although the nation had been long disused to war, and were very ill prepared for it when hostilities commenced, it soon appeared that their sailors had not lost that courage which distinguished them in the days of De Ruyter and Van Tromp. An engagement between the two fleets was fought with the most desperate obstinacy, off the Dogger Bank, which continued for three hours and a half, with equal advantage, when the Dutch commander, having secured the retreat of his valuable convoy, drew off his ships, but the English fleet was too much disabled to pursue them. The island of St. Eustatius was also soon after retaken by the assistance of the French. The Dutch also sustained some severe losses in the capture of several East Indiamen. The total neglect of the navy for many years excited much discontent against the government, which was at that time principally under the direction of Duke Lewis of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, field-marshal of Holland, and captain-general, during the minority of the prince of Orange.

The success which the Emperor of Germany had met with respecting the demolition of

the Dutch Barrier, determined him to advance further claims upon the state; and to enforce his demand, he began with seizing the Dutch forts in the neighbourhood of Sluys. His real object seems to have been the opening of the Scheldt, a measure of infinite importance to the Austrian possessions, and for succeeding, no time seemed more favourable. The provinces were harassed with civil dissentions. The contest between the Prince of Orange and the Aristocracy were multiplied beyond the power of enumeration. The power of the stadtholder was rapidly declining, and there seemed neither energy, wisdom, or policy, on his part, to counteract his ruin. The commotions became at last so serious, that the Duke of Brunswick was compelled to resign all command, and retire to Aix-la-Chapelle. The determination of the Emperor seemed fixed. He declared the navigation of the Scheldt free, and ordered a ship to sail down the river, and upon its seizure by the Dutch, lost no time in putting his army in motion, with all the appearance of commencing an immediate war. Through the interference of the French court, conferences were at length opened at Versailles, under the auspices of the Count de Vergennes, and the demands of the Emperor upon Maestricht, and of opening the Scheldt, were finally commuted for ten millions of florins. A. D. 1781.

In this year the states of the republick arrived at one of the most considerable objects in their system of politicks; a most intimate alliance being formed between the government of Versailles and that of the A. D. 1784.

Hague. The treaty stipulated that either party should supply the other with an auxiliary force upon being attacked, and the expenses to be defrayed by the government furnishing the assistance. The whole of the articles taken together, seem to amount nearly to a counterpart of the celebrated Family Compact.

A. D. 1785. The internal commotions in the United Provinces, which now engrossed the attention of Europe, first displayed themselves in the year 1780, and the foundation of them had probably been laid much earlier. Two parties, for the last two centuries, had been continually struggling for superiority. The first of these was the family of Orange; the second, that of the states and of the town councils.

From the death of the De Wits, of Barnevelt, and of William the Second, the Republick had declined, and instead of venerable patriots and distinguished conquerors, Europe had for the last century been accustomed to regard them as a nation of merchants, pursuing the acquisition of wealth, in contempt of every other quality or accomplishment. It cannot be doubted, that the oligarchy had for many years previous to 1780, entertained the design of excluding the Stadtholder, and of stripping him of his disproportionate authority. Their plan was to watch with attention the occasions that might arise, and instead of boldly directing the progress of events, merely to seize and improve such as might arise. To prepare the publick mind for the execution of this scheme, they succeeded in fixing a contempt upon the ministers, and even, in some measure, upon the Stadtholder. This

was more necessary, as the people were in general attached to their prince, and it was doubtful whether the army would not adhere to him. Accordingly, in the year 1783, they contrived that the different burghers should form themselves into a free corps, with the character of volunteers, taking care that the commanders should be closely connected with themselves. This spirit when once set on foot, rapidly extended itself through all the provinces, and in some towns, the corps consisted of the richest, the most considerable, and most responsible citizens. The first object which now excited the attention of the oligarchy was the constitution of the magistracy and the town senates. The power of the Stadtholder, exclusive of his influence in the election of the senates, was very considerable. He possessed the appointment of inferior officers in the navy; of officers in the army from the colonel to the ensign, and a voice in the disposition of all other places of honour and emolument.

The first efforts of liberty appeared in the city of Utrecht. The citizens formed the plan of entirely excluding the Stadtholder from any influence in the nomination of the four governments; and at the same time to communicate to the people a certain degree of authority, and a share in the election of the senates and magistrates, as well as several other prerogatives of no considerable importance. The first measure adopted was to present a petition to the states of the province of Utrecht, demanding the abolition of the regulation of regency established in 1674, which was the foundation of the principal part of the obnoxious authority of the Stadt-

holder in the election of the town governments, and by which he was accustomed arbitrarily to introduce whatever persons he pleased to a seat in the senate. An extraordinary commission was accordingly nominated by the assembly of the states, to inquire into and report the measures proper to be taken to re-establish harmony and remove the sources of complaint against the government. Similar addresses were at the same time presented to the Stadtholder, whose answer was of course unfavourable, both from the inflexibility of his principles and the nature of the demand. The senate of Utrecht, however, received the application with much satisfaction, and, after many discussions, a publick declaration was made, that they had discovered four capital defects in the constitution of the town government as settled in 1764; but they did not proceed to any detailed specification of their intentions. This report was followed by a resolution of the senate to fill up a vacancy in their body without any previous communication with the Stadtholder, which they carried by a majority, on a division, of 26 to 12.

The prince of Orange was not, however, inactive to prevent a revolution, which struck at his most considerable prerogative; and the intrigues of the court at the Hague obtained every success with the senate and the provincial states of Utrecht. This change in their sentiments probably took place in the close of the year 1784, and prevented the publication of the report, which was then digested and ready to be laid before the publick. In 1785, two vacancies occurred in the senate, and the

magistrates now admitted two into their body, the domination of whom originated with the Stadtholder. The burghers at length, irritated at this conduct, adopted a measure at once decisive and peremptory. They assembled in a body to the number of 2000, and repaired to the senate, and declared their resolution not to quit their arms until the election of one of the magistrates was annulled. The senate submitted to the necessity of their situation; but alarmed at the firmness of the people, nineteen of them seceded, and declared their intention never more to enter the assembly until the authority of the magistrates was restored. All publick business was consequently at a stand, but the interference of the remaining senators, at last induced the seceders to return. A proclamation was immediately issued, prohibiting, under severe penalties, all proceedings tending to tumult and disturbance; and the senate even proceeded to institute a criminal inquiry against the leaders of the democratical party, one of whom they imprisoned: and this was followed by a second proclamation of a nature yet more violent. These harsh and untemporising measures served only to alienate and inflame the minds of the citizens; and the magistrates of Holland, convinced that some deviation must take place from the plan they had originally intended to pursue, preferred its operating in favour of the rights of the people, rather than for the increase of the domination and prerogatives of an individual. Six deputies were appointed by the assembly of the magistrates of Amsterdam, to mediate the differences which had arisen at Utrecht, and the report on

the projected reform was at length published, which was certainly intended as a conciliatory measure: but it was by no means attended with the success expected. The people, now irritated and alarmed, did not value the acquisition in favour of freedom, because the manner in which it was made savoured rather of the principles of a narrower form of government. The senate, alarmed at the peremptory conduct of the people, suppressed the report which had been published, and appointed a new commission to concert with the delegates of the citizens the new regulations it might be proper to introduce. The spirit of reform which began in Utrecht soon communicated its influence to the other towns of the province, and the violence of the people, at length, induced four of the council committee to send a requisition to the Stadtholder, demanding a body of troops to keep under restraint the tumultuous citizens. This request being granted, a new coalition was effected between the magistrates and the Stadtholder, and in a more covert manner between the democracy of Utrecht and the oligarchy of Holland. The compliance of the Prince of Orange with the demand of troops produced the most unbounded spirit of indignation and resistance in various parts of the republick. The senate urged by the delegates of the people, shut their gates, brought out the cannon of their fortifications, and prepared for resistance. In Overyssel and Holland, the democratical party had made equal progress, and the people were every where incensed at the conduct of the Stadtholder, in endeavouring to silence their complaints, by the violent introduction of an

armed force. The Stadtholder now called upon the states to support him, but finding that he could attain no answer to his remonstrances, he withdrew from the Hague on the 14th September, 1785, with a resolution never to return to the palace of his ancestors, until he should be reinstated in his prerogatives. It was indeed evident, that the democratical party had determined to reduce the prince as nearly as possible to a cypher in the state. Affairs were nearly in the same situation through all the provinces, the burghers and volunteers preparing to meet every resistance, when Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, died.

The troops had now yielded implicit obedience to the provincial assembly, and formed a border along the province of Utrecht, to Schoonhoven, while considerable detachments were stationed in the towns of Haerlem and Heusden; and soon afterwards the states passed a resolution, depriving the Prince of Orange of the situation of captain-general.

The misunderstanding between the Stadtholder and the republick, had now gone so far, that it did not appear possible to terminate it in any other way than by the sword. The king of Prussia resolved to try the effects of his mediation during the winter, and the court of France also determined to second his efforts. The refusal of any concession, however, by the prince of Orange, brought the conferences to a rapid conclusion, and the parties betook themselves to mutual recrimination and censure. All the provinces were now nearly unanimous, in refusing to yield to the Stadtholder's pretensions, but Utrecht was still dis- A. D. 1787.

tracted. Hostilities, however, soon commenced, when a rencounter happened between a party of the prince's forces and the volunteers of Utrecht, on the former attempting to secure the post of Vreeswyke, in which they were defeated. In the mean time a most desperate riot broke out in Amsterdam, in favour of the Stadtholder, which was with considerable difficulty suppressed by the association of burghers, but not until much damage had been done to the persons and properties of the inhabitants. A general revolt among the troops of the provinces of Holland also broke out, and for the purpose of co-operating with the revolters, the Prince of Orange took the field with his little army, and encamped in the vicinity of Utrecht. While things were in this state, the princess of Orange, sister of the king of Prussia, a woman of masculine, active, and adventurous character, undertook a journey to the Hague, from what motive never distinctly appeared, except, indeed, the courts of Prussia and London wished for some more immediate cause to go to war than what had yet occurred. The princess was stopped on her journey, by the deputies of the patriots, and compelled to return; upon which she wrote to the states of Holland, charging them with distrusting her intentions, and demanding an ample and publick reparation for the insults offered her.

The military interference of Prussia, it is clear, had already been determined upon, and the armies were put in motion. Several rencounters now occurred between the troops of the Stadtholder and the patriots, and several small places surrendered to the former, when the state

of Holland came to the resolution of suspending the prince from the functions of stadtholder, and admiral-general, in a similar manner as they had done with respect to the office of captain-general. The duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian forces, after several ineffectual remonstrances, at length begun his march, which resembled more a triumph than a campaign. Utrecht, and all the other principal towns, submitted upon his appearance, the volunteers were disbanded, and the deputies came to the resolution of restoring the stadtholder to all his honours and prerogatives, and of inviting him to repair to his former place of residence. Amsterdam for some time made an ineffectual resistance, but was at length obliged to surrender, together with every other place in the hands of the patriots.

Thus, after a short campaign, the prince of Orange made his triumphant entry at the Hague, and in the space of twenty days, 20,000 Prussians overcame that republick, which had so gallantly and successfully contended with Philip the Second for its liberties, and Louis the Fourteenth for its independence. But this victory was not used with discretion, and Holland appeared to be rather over-run than subdued. The patriots, indignant at the treatment they had received, thirsted in their turn after vengeance. Some left a country where they could not reside in safety; while others remained there, notwithstanding the oppressions exercised against them, in hopes of a change.

At the particular request of the princess of Orange, the king of Prussia consented to permit some thousands of his troops to take up their

winter quarters in Holland, and they did not wholly evacuate the country till the year 1788. In the mean time, treaties of defensive alliance were negociated between Holland and Great-Britain, and Holland and Prussia, and a decided admission and acknowledgment from the states general, of the authority and privileges of the stadtholder.

The revolution which occurred in France, re-inspired the hopes of the patriots, and obtained for them promise of support and assistance. The refugees found an asylum in Belgium, where they formed themselves into regiments, and were taught the use of arms. They kept up a regular intercourse with their countrymen, and were acquainted with every event favourable to their cause. The increase of internal imports, the decay of trade, the alleged misapplication of the publick money, the countenance given to the French emigrants, and above all, the supposed usurpations on the part of the first magistrate, had greatly increased the number of the discontented; and there were not a few who preferred even a foreign yoke, which they considered as but temporary, to the continued horrors of domestick subjugation.

The old politicks at the Hague, however, still continued; and no sooner did the intelligence arrive of the assault of the Thuilleries, and the imprisonment and execution of the king, than the states general recalled their ambassador, and in conjunction with Great-Britain, resolved to oppose the opening of the Scheldt, an event likely, beyond every other, to affect the prosperity of Holland. Upon the dismissal of the French ambassador from the Hague, war was declared

against Great-Britain and Holland jointly; but the complaints against the latter were solely confined to the prince of Orange, who was charged with treating the agents of France with contempt, with welcoming the emigrants, maltreating the patriots, liberating the forgers of assignats, ordering a Dutch squadron to join the English, and of obstructing the exportation of provisions to France: all which the French government considered as acts of hostility.

The first efforts of the French were directed to the expulsion of the Stadtholder; and Dumourier marched towards Holland with an army of 13,000 men. It was known that there were many Dutch Patriots ready to join the French arms, and not a moment therefore was to be lost. Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, after a short resistance, surrendered. Williamstadt, however, made a resolute defence and the arrival of the duke of York with a body of British troops saved Holland from the miseries of invasion, and forced the French to retire within their own territories. The siege of Maestricht was shortly afterwards raised, and thus terminated the expedition which was attended with much greater success than it deserved, the French being actually destitute of cannon and ammunition, and had it not been for the ready surrender of the places above-mentioned, Dumourier must have retired before in disgrace. A. D. 1793.

In this year, the French having been singularly successful against the Austrians, once more commenced their march towards Holland, under the command of Pichegru and Moreau. Sluys was speedily taken, the English repulsed at Boxtel, and Boisleduck and A. D. 1794.

Crevecœur surrendered. On the 19th of October the duke of York was attacked and defeated at Pufflech, after which he immediately retired behind the Waal with his army, while the invading army prepared to besiege the neighbouring garrisons, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year. Venloo was taken and Maestricht soon afterwards surrendered, as did Nimeguen on the 8th of November, after a short siege, though covered by the army of the duke of York.

The superiority of the French having induced the allied armies to retire, the French determined on crossing the Waal. In this, however, they failed; but the greatest preparations were made to insure the conquest of Holland in the ensuing spring. This, however, was no easy enterprise. The water on every side opposed obstacles, nearly insurmountable to an invading army; and the Stadtholder, if reduced to despair, might probably recur to the same means against the French Republick, that his predecessors had employed with success against the monarchy. In other countries, a mild season is in general necessary for the purposes of conquest, but nothing less than an intense frost here, which, by converting the water into solid ice, might facilitate the transport of armies, cannon, and ammunition, could effect the destruction of the house of Nassau. The frost, however, set in with an astonishing degree of rigour, and General Pichegru availed himself of that opportunity to order two brigades to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel, which with Fort St. Andrew immediately surrendered, as did also the town of Grave.

A few days after, Pichegru crossed the Waal, with his whole army in the neighbourhood of

Nimeguen, and Gorcum, the head quarters of the prince of Orange, was threatened with an assault. The superiority of the enemy in point of numbers was so great, that not all the gallantry of the English army, and the exertions of its officers, though they obtained several brilliant successes, were able ultimately to stop the progress of the enemy.

The allies retreated behind the Leck and abandoned the province of Utrecht to the enemy. The situation of the prince of Orange was now truly deplorable. He had published many animated addresses to the people, entreating them to rise in arms and defend their country, but no exhortations could inspire the Dutch with a spirit of resistance, and his plan of a grand inundation round Amsterdam was vehemently opposed, though the only means of saving that city. The discontented patriots now began to raise their heads, and the Stadtholder finding it impossible to resist the storm, desired leave to withdraw, and after waiting for a short time the event of a negociation, he sailed for England, where he found an asylum worthy of the country.

While the Stadtholder was thus forced to fly from a country, where his ancestors by their intrepidity and patriotism had rendered themselves adored, a French officer with dispatches from Pichegru entered Amsterdam, and repaired to the house of the Burgomaster. The tree of liberty was planted the next morning, while de Winter took possession of the fleet which he was afterwards destined to command. A complete revolution was thus effected through the Seven United Provinces. At A. D. 1795.

Utrecht the administration was changed without the least disorder: new municipal officers were chosen by the burghers, and the orders of the nobility and clergy suppressed. Events, nearly similar, occurred at the same time in the other principal towns. Pichegru now entered Amsterdam in triumph, and was received with transports of joy. The principal cities were next occupied by French troops, and to complete the wonders of the campaign, a body of horse and a detachment of light artillery actually advanced along the ice, and forced a squadron of men of war, frozen in a strait of the Zuyder Zee, to surrender.

The states general, yielding to imperious necessity, now negociated with the invaders, and issued orders to all the governors to deliver up the fortifications on the first summons of the French, who, instead of disarming the garrisons, only required them to take an oath not to carry arms against the republick. A president of the "assembly of the provisional representatives of the free people of Holland" was next appointed, the declaration of the rights of man solemnly proclaimed, the abolition of the stadtholdership was decreed, and the right of shooting, hunting, and fishing on his own property restored to every one.

After the lapse of a short period, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the republick of France and that of the Seven United Provinces, and Holland equally unfortunate in respect to her allies and her enemies, was doomed to be deprived of a large portion of her commerce and bereaved of most

of her foreign possessions, in the progress of events which she could neither anticipate nor prevent.

The conquest of Holland by the French, and the treaty of alliance which speedily followed this event, produced an entire change in the connexion between that country and England. War was consequently declared by the latter, and a great number of Dutch vessels were detained, and all the property of that nation in England seized. All the Dutch colonies in Asia were also either obtained by stratagem, or seized after a short and ineffectual resistance. The whole island of Ceylon also surrendered to an expedition fitted out in the East Indies; and Manar, Malacca Cochin, and its dependencies, also submitted to the British arms. Nearly about the same time, the flourishing colony of the Cape of Good Hope was transferred to the English by the success of an expedition under the command of Sir George Keith Elphinstone and general Clarke. A. D. 1795.

The capture of the Cape of Good Hope produced a considerable sensation in Holland, and the government determined to attempt the reconquest early in this year. A squadron was accordingly fitted out under rear-admiral Lucas, who was also to command a small body of troops sent with him. A small fleet was also promised on the part of France to assist in this important object. The Dutch squadron sailed early in the spring, and in order to avoid the British fleets shaped their course by the eastern coast of Scotland and the Orkneys. This increased length of the A. D. 1796.

voyage occasioned the fleet's being discovered by the English cruisers, and a formidable fleet was immediately sent in quest of the Dutch squadron.

In the mean time the English general received intelligence that the Dutch fleet had anchored in Saldannah Bay, and immediately five vessels were dispatched in quest of the English admiral. General Craig, leaving four thousand troops in the Cape town and the neighbourhood, proceeded through a country never before explored by an army, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the enemy with his advanced guard, consisting of the light-infantry, a body of Hottentots, and a few horse. As these troops were descending towards the shore, they perceived the British fleet, advancing with a fair wind directly for the mouth of the harbour, and soon after anchoring within cannon shot. The English admiral immediately transmitted a summons to the Dutch commander to surrender, which ended in a capitulation the following morning. On his return to Holland, admiral Lucas was imprisoned and died during the course of his trial. Columbo and Negombo, and the valuable island of Amboyna and Banda also surrendered, being the only remaining settlements of Holland in the East.

A. D. 1797. The French were this year determined to make the utmost use of the conquest of Holland, and having a powerful party in the country, they resolved on employing the Dutch fleet to assist them in the invasion of Ireland. A body of troops was accordingly embarked under the command of Lieutenant-General Daendaels, and the Eng-

lish at the same time sent a powerful squadron into the north sea, under the command of Admiral Duncan, to intercept them. The admiral assumed such a station off the Texel as enabled him completely to prevent their sailing, but being at length obliged to return to Yarmouth to refit, the Dutch squadron was immediately ordered to sea, and sailed under the command of admiral de Winter, consisting of twenty-six sail. The English fleet, on being informed of this circumstance by their cruisers, returned to their former station with great promptitude. The fleets soon met. The English admiral gave orders for a general chase, and the Dutch drew up in line of battle on the larboard tack with the country between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward.

The English admiral immediately broke the line, regardless of the shore, and determined either to conquer or to perish. The two hostile commanders on board of ships exactly equal in size and guns, singled out each other, and after a most desperate engagement of more than two hours, de Winter was obliged to strike his colours, his ship, the Vryheid, having by this time lost all her masts, being greatly damaged in her hull and having her decks crouded with the dying and the dead. The vice-admiral's ship also surrendered, with three others of ninety-eight guns, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, and two vessels of inferior force. Rear-admiral Story, instead of supporting his gallant commander, fled for the Texel with part of his division in the beginning of the action; and afterwards, under pretence of having saved part of

the fleet, made a merit of his infamous and disgraceful conduct. The Dutch ships fought with uncommon gallantry, and the risks which the English admiral run in obtaining this signal victory, proved how resolutely he was determined to conquer, the greater part of his fleet in the conclusion of the engagement being in only nine fathoms water, within five miles of the enemy's coast, and exposed to the danger of a lee shore.

A. D. 1799. Holland, after the great successes of the united armies under Suwarrow, was almost the only remaining conquest of the French. Here France, finding loans and resources of every kind, continued, by means of the wealth of her ally, to support her own declining credit. Though by the treaty of peace a stipulated sum was required from the Dutch nation as an indemnification to the French republick for the expenses of the war, this price of redemption, enormous as it was, served rather to excite than allay the rapacity of the French; and new demands were made under the various forms of loans, requisitions of clothing and provisions, voluntary contributions, subsidies, and the forced circulation of assignats. The treatment of the troops in the French service was also peculiarly unjust. They were placed in the most exposed situations in every battle, and in the exchange of prisoners their interests were invariably neglected. In this year, the republick had reached the lowest ebb of depression. The people, worn out with unceasing exactions, the annihilation of commerce, the loss of their colonies, and the arbitrary acts of the government, became impatient for a change in the system of

affairs. These discontents seem to have been mistaken by the Stadtholderian party, for a general inclination in the people to re-establish the old form of government, and strong representations were made to England of the expediency of sending into Holland a sufficient force to assist the friends of the Stadtholder, and exonerate the republick from the bondage of France, which would at the same time be deprived of the great advantages it derived from its connexion with the former country. The number of the French troops in Holland was also much reduced, and the state of that country might probably prevent any considerable reinforcement to their army in this quarter. These representations coinciding with the inclinations of the British government, produced in the autumn of this year an expedition into Holland.

As an army of thirty thousand men was required upon this occasion, the court of Petersburgh, in consequence of its alliance with Great-Britain, agreed to furnish between seventeen and eighteen thousand troops, and a detachment of six ships, five frigates, and two transports, for each of which the former court was to receive a separate subsidy. The hereditary prince of Orange in the mean time repaired to Lingen on the Emms, where he assembled all the Stadtholderian party capable of bearing arms. Magazines were formed at Bremen, and an active intercourse kept up with the partizans of that family. It was determined by the English cabinet, that there should be two successive expeditions; one under general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other under the duke of York.

The English fleet, and the first division of the

army, embarked on board one hundred and forty vessels, sailed on the 13th of August, and in spite of many difficulties from the weather, effected a landing at the Helder point, after a warm opposition of ten hours. It soon appeared that an erroneous opinion had been formed of the disposition of the Dutch soldiers, but strong symptoms of revolt having broken out in the fleet, the English admiral opened a communication with Story the commander, and nine men of war and three Indiamen were surrendered to the English.

On their first successes, and the surrender of the fleet, it was expected that the English army would have advanced rapidly into the country. There was no force sufficient to oppose their progress, and multitudes of disaffected individuals were preparing to join them. Amsterdam, though inclined to support the new government, yet contained a powerful party, which only waited for the nearer approach of the British troops to declare themselves. But general Abercrombie was probably ordered to wait for further reinforcements, instead of profiting by his first success and the treason of the fleet.

A large body of forces being collected, it was determined to make an attempt to dislodge the English general from the position he had taken near to Petten. The attack, however, completely failed, and the French were obliged to retire towards Alkmaar.

On the 13th of September, the duke of York arrived, with the second division, to assume the command, and at the same time eight battalions of Russians, consisting of seven thousand men,

landed. The Prince of Orange was also busy in forming the deserters from the Batavian troops, as well as volunteers from the Dutch ships, into regular battalions. It was now determined to lose no time in prosecuting the objects of the expedition, and the English army accordingly advanced, through a country which, in every respect, presented the most formidable obstacles, to attack the Dutch and French armies, which were strongly posted from Petten to the town of Bergen, several of the intermediate villages being strengthened by intrenchments. After a very desperate action, in which the English forces succeeded in accomplishing the objects of the attack, by obtaining possession of Hoorne and Ouds Carspel by storm, they were obliged to resume their former positions through the imprudent impetuosity of the Russians, who had advanced too far through a wooded country, in which the principal force of the Dutch happened to be posted, and from which they were driven back in confusion, with the loss of two of their lieutenant-generals.

The duke of York, however, not at all discouraged by this failure, determined upon a general attack upon the whole of the French lines. The plan was combined in such a manner as to enable the principal corps to communicate with each other: but the chief effort was directed against the French on the left, with the intention of compelling them to entirely evacuate north Holland. After an obstinate engagement, which lasted for twelve hours, the English and Russians completely succeeded; and, on the following day, took possession of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, and Bergen. The

town of Alkmaar, the head quarters of the French general, and the seat of the state of north Holland opened its gates, while a number of troops deserted to the standard erected by the Prince of Orange. To improve these advantages, the English general resolved to force Beverwyck and Wyak-op-Zee; but after an engagement, in which both sides fought with the most desperate valour, the battle proved indecisive, for the French retained their position, and had not only strengthened their posts, but received a reinforcement of six thousand men. In addition to this, the state of the weather, the badness of the roads, and above all, the tameness of the stadtholderian party, rendered all further progress dangerous, and it was determined at once to retire. So unexpected was such a measure by general Brune, that he had himself designed to retreat, and had sent his baggage, with part of the artillery, across the Wye.

Favoured by the obscurity of a tempestuous night, and the total ignorance of the design, the retreat of the English army was effected with little loss. By day-light in the morning, they were at the distance of thirty miles from the French forces, and in a position of considerable strength, where they had formerly been established. It was now determined that the British army should evacuate Holland, and a negociation was accordingly entered into by the duke of York with general Brune; in consequence of which, an armistice was agreed upon. It was stipulated that the combined English and Russian armies should evacuate the territories of the republick by a certain period; that the Dutch admiral, De Winter, should be considered

as exchanged; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored to their former state, and that eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, should be restored without condition to their respective countries.

These terms, although justified by the critical situation of the troops, were doubtless humiliating, but the proposition of restoring the surrendered fleet, was rejected with indignation: the duke of York threatening, in case of perseverance on this point, to cut the sea-dykes, and inundate the whole country. The terms on which the British and Russians were permitted to evacuate Holland, were loudly complained of by the Batavian directory, and strong insinuations, countenanced by the known character of general Brune for rapacity, were circulated throughout the country, by the party inimical to the English.

Thus ended the expedition against Holland, from which so much advantage had been expected, which was intended to annihilate the influence of France over that devoted country, and restore the independence of the Dutch. Had the expedition been attempted at an earlier period of the year, or had the army advanced before the French forces had time to pour into the divided country, possession might certainly have been obtained of Amsterdam, and a great part of the republick reduced to the obedience of the Stadtholder. But even had these events taken place, the patriots and the French would still have remained in possession of the frontier places, from whence no force could have expelled them; and France rather than permit so important a conquest, would have marched innumerable bodies of troops into the country.

A. D. 1801. An end was put to this destructive contest, by the treaty of Amiens, by which all the English conquests were restored to the Dutch, except Ceylon, ceded to the English.

Holland now recognized, under the name of the Batavian commonwealth, can be considered as little more than a province of the overgrown republick of France, under the rapacious control of which the states have severely suffered. The mighty commerce which Amsterdam, in former periods, carried on in all quarters of the globe, is now reduced to little more than a petty inland traffick, and an inconsiderable trade with foreign parts by the means of neutral vessels; her own ships being dismantled and totally unfit for the purposes of navigation. In addition to this, the country has been continually harassed with contributions, loans, exactions, and the entire maintenance, and cloathing of a considerable French army.

Such have been the consequences of that want of union and firmness, which, if early exerted, would have stopped the destructive progress of the French arms, and preserved the independence of the country. Misled by the false, delusive theories of the French, and anxious to throw off the Orange yoke, under which family it may be observed that they rose to their former pitch of greatness, and have alone flourished, they tamely submitted to the domination of a foreign power, which has always treated them rather as a conquered people than allies, and will not fail to drag them into every contest in which the restless ambition of its ruler seems resolved to plunge it.

SWITZERLAND.

CHAP. I.

Situation and face of the Country. Ancient Inhabitants. Their Manners and dispositions. Conquest of Helvetia by the Romans.

THE interesting country, now called Switzerland, or Swisserland, was distinguished in ancient times by several appellations. The name of Helvetia was given to it by the Romans, who considered it as a part of Gaul: and the chief possessors of it were the Helvetii on the west, and the Rhæti on the east; the principal city of the Helvetians being Aventicum, now called Avenche. The modern denomination of Switzerland first appeared upon the emancipation of these provinces from the Austrian dominion, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and is derived either from the general name of Schweitzers given to the inhabitants by the Austrians, or from the canton of Schweitz, which principally distinguished itself in the revolution of that period.

Switzerland extends about two hundred British miles in length from east to west, and in breadth from north to south about one hundred and thirty. It has been estimated to contain about 14,960 square miles; but a great part of this territory consists of vast rocks, partly covered with eternal ice and snow. On the west Mount

Jura forms a grand division from France; on the south the Pennine Alps constitute a partial barrier from Italy; on the east lies the Austrian territory of the Tyrol; and on the north is Swabia, containing, as it were an excrescence of Switzerland on the other side of the Rhine, the small canton of Schaffhausen.

The climate of this country is deservedly celebrated as salubrious and delightful. From its southern position considerable heat might be expected: but this, though sufficient to ripen the grape, is attempered by the cold gales from the Alps and the Glaciers. When the sun descends beyond Mount Jura on a summer evening, the Alpine summits long reflect the ruddy splendour, and the lakes for near an hour assume the appearance of burnished gold. The face of the country is generally mountainous; the most level parts being the Thurgau, and a part of the cantons of Basil, Berne, Zurick, Schaffhausen, Soleur, and Fribourg. Even these present what in some countries would be called mountains, from 2000 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea. No country in the world surpasses Switzerland in diversity of appearance; the vast chain of Alps with enormous precipices, extensive regions of perpetual snow, and Glaciers that resemble seas of ice, are contrasted by the vineyard and cultivated field, the richly-wooded brow, and the verdant and tranquil vale with its happy cottages and crystal stream. Agriculture cannot of course be carried to great extent; but there is no defect of industry, and the grain seems sufficient for domestick consumption. Barley is cultivated even to the edge of the Glaciers; oats in regions somewhat warmer; rye in those still more sheltered;

and spelt in the warmest parts. Yet in general the produce does not exceed five for one; and it has been found necessary to support publick granaries in case of deficiency. The country being principally designed by nature for pasturage, the chief dependence of the Swiss is upon his cattle; and the number of these being extraordinary, much land is laid out in winter forage which might otherwise produce corn. A considerable quantity of lint and flax is also cultivated; and tobacco has been lately introduced. The best vines are those of the Pays de Vaud, the cantons of Berne and Schaffhausen, the Valteline, and the Vallais. But pasturage forms the chief province of a Swiss farm; and the meadows are often watered to increase the produce of hay.

The rivers of Switzerland are numerous; and among the most sublime scenes of this country must be classed the sources of the Rhine and the Rhone. Its mountains are the most celebrated in Europe; and are supposed to yield in height to none except those of South America. In a general point of view the Alps extend in a kind of semi-circular form; from the gulph of Genoa through Switzerland, which contains their centre and highest parts; and close in the Carnick Alps on the north of the Adriatick Sea. This grand chain of mountains has in ancient and modern times been divided into different portions, known by distinct appellations. It was, however, reserved for this age of enterprise to disclose the secret wonders of the superior Alps. The enormous ridges clothed with a depth of perpetual snow, often crowned with sharp obelisks of

granite, styled by the Swiss, horns or needles; the dreadful chasms of some thousand feet in perpendicular heigth, over which the dauntless traveller sometimes stands on a shelf of frozen snow; the glaciers or seas of ice, extending thirty or forty miles in length; the sacred silence of the scenes before unvisited except by the chamois and the goat of the rocks; the extensive prospects which, as it were, reduce kingdoms to a map; the pure elasticity of the air, exciting a kind of incorporeal sensation; are all noveltics in the history of human adventure.

The ancient inhabitants of this singularly interesting country were undoubtedly descended from the Germans and the Gauls; though in their manners and customs they appear to have resembled the former rather than the latter. They spoke the same language, exercised the same form of government, and practised the same superstitions, with the different tribes who composed that nation. These circumstances, and the proximity of Germany, induce us to conclude that the Helvetians were a German race of people.

In point of refinement, the ancient inhabitants of Switzerland appear to have occupied a middle state, between the cultivation of the Chauci, and the savage state of the Fenni the most civilized and the most rude of all the German tribes. They disliked to live in towns, or in houses contiguous to each other; and chose rather to construct their rude dwellings in some solitary spot, to which they were attracted by a stream of fresh water, the extent of a plain, or the shade of a grove. Neither stone, nor brick, nor tiles were employed in

these slight habitations; they were built of rough timber, thatched with straw, and pierced at the top to give a free passage to the smoke.

The principal article of their wealth consisted of their numerous herds of cattle; and inattentive to personal property, the fields in pasture and those in tillage belonged all to the community, while in the distribution of their produce as the publick property, particular attention was paid to the merits of the receiver. The office of a magistrate was known among them, but his criminal jurisdiction was circumscribed within very narrow limits; he was not invested with the power of taking away life, nor of imprisoning, nor of inflicting any corporal punishment. These powers were invested in the national assembly; for the convention of which, stated times were appointed. Strangers to the arts, and ignorant of the distinctions of civilized states, they paid no respect to any but personal qualities. To endure cold, hunger, and fatigue, were the hardy lessons of their youth; and bloodshed, devastation, and the horrors of war, were the first objects to which they were accustomed. In their food the Helvetians, were extremely simple; it consisted chiefly of the wild fruits of nature, and the produce of their flocks: but in the use of intoxicating liquors they indulged with the most unbounded freedom; and it was most frequently in the moments of debauch that they applied to publick business, and debated upon peace and war.

Cunning and stratagem were deemed the greatest arts of war by the Helvetians. They painted their bodies, and blackened their shields,

to look terrible; and they accounted it meritorious to make incursions upon their enemies by stealth, and in the darkest nights.

Their armour was that of a rude but warlike people; the bow and arrow, the sword, the lance, and the shield, were the only weapons they used. For the shield, they had a peculiar respect; to be deprived of it, or to leave it in the field of battle, was considered as the greatest mark of disgrace. It was the employment of their leisure hours to make their shield conspicuous, and to diversify it according to their fancy with different ornaments and colours; a practice which in after times produced the art of blazonry and the occupation of the herald.

The Helvetians felt in the strongest degree the power of beauty, and the pleasures which arise from love. To their females they behaved with respect and reverence, and courted their approbation as their highest reward. In return, the women kept alive the courage of the men, and their sense of honour. Many examples of their heroism occurred in the actions which the Helvetians had with the Romans. When Sylla engaged the Ambrones, who inhabited the district of Berne, the Ambronian women, after the defeat of their husbands, attacked the pursuing Romans with their axes, and made a stout resistance. Being at length overpowered, they sent a deputation to the Roman general, entreating that they might not be degraded to the condition of slaves; but their request being refused, they first stabbed their children, and then turned their daggers against themselves. The same desperate bravery and display of fortitude Cæsar ex-

perienced, when, having defeated the Helvetian army, he proceeded to take possession of their camp and baggage; the women, spurning the delusion of a safety purchased at the expense of their honour, defended themselves to the last, and chose rather to fall by the sword than to become slaves.

Marriage among the Helvetians was connected with usages which served to favour the fidelity and the attachment of their wives. A violation of the marriage contract was never pardoned; and the severity of the punishment attendant on the crime of adultery expresses the great respect which was paid to chastity. The culprit, being despoiled of her hair, was whipped by the hands of her husband, and afterwards expelled his house, before her assembled relations. In such distinction was the marriage state held, that it was only lawful for virgins to marry; and the widow was for ever to preserve unsullied the dismal honours of mourning.

Their religion, like that of all savage nations, was gross. They were ignorant of the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, and the Mosaick history of the creation had not been revealed to them. In the deep recesses of their woods, they felt and acknowledged the power of the Deity. Their groves were appropriated to purposes of worship; a venerable oak supplied the place of altar, and they invoked the strength of this tree, the majesty of its branches, and the virtues of its leaves, for success. They considered the oak as the emblem and peculiar residence of their god Esas; an invisible being to whom they attributed infinite knowledge, justice, and power. To profit by his knowledge they applied to divina-

tion; and at every full moon, in the dead of night, they performed their mysterious rites under his solemn shade.

Such were the Helvetians while they remained immured in the valleys of the Alps; but when they sallied across these barriers in quest of conquest, the ideas of property disclosed the selfishness of mankind, and the change of condition they experienced produced a change in their manners. Their inclination for war, the respect in which they held the women, and their sentiments of religion, however, did not forsake them, but still remained their ruling passions. And it is more than probable, that to the wilds of Switzerland, and the forests of Germany, rather than to the fanaticism of Peter the Hermit, as some suppose, we owe those institutions of chivalry, which, mingling religion with arms, and piety with love, afterwards filled Europe with renown and with splendour.

Of the first excursions of these barbarians into other countries we are altogether ignorant. One of the earliest and most considerable, however, of these expeditions, is that which they made into Italy with other Celtick and German tribes, under the enterprising Bellovesus, about the year of Rome 160. Having crossed the Gothard, till that time unattempted, they descended the Levantine valley, following the unknown course of the Tessino, confident in their strength, and careless of whatever power might oppose their progress. The Etrurians were the first enemies who presented themselves, and the first inhabitants of Italy who encountered these bold invaders, who afterwards overthrew the empire of the world. The two armies fought with equal va-

lour, but with unequal success: the skill of Bellovesus prevailed; the Etrurians were completely routed; and the greatest part of the victorious army, struck with the charms of Italy, settled and spread themselves over the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy. Those who returned imported into their original seats the first rudiments of Roman arts and Roman manners.

The success of this enterprise, together with the exaggerated accounts given of the riches and milder climate of Italy, occasioned the successive inroads of the Cænomani, the Læves, and Anamnes, and the various troops of barbarians who gloried in the name of Gauls. In all these expeditions the Helvetians seem to have taken a considerable part. They afterwards joined the Cimbri and the Teutones against the Romans, in which war they fought with the utmost fury and intrepidity; they compelled the Roman general Popilius and his army to pass under the yoke, and occasioned the defeat of eighty thousand men under Cæpius and Manlius. But their want of discipline in the end proved fatal to them; the skill of the Romans prevailed; and the arms of Marius and Sylla obtained over the combined forces of Germany the most complete and decisive victory. From this æra the Helvetians continued to live in friendship and alliance with the empire; until the arts of Orgetorix, one of their chieftains, involved them in that unfortunate expedition which ended in the loss of their liberty and independence. Orgetorix, prompted either by ambition or avarice, or a desire to exchange his inclement country for a better, prevailed upon his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to attempt in an entire body

the conquest of Gaul. Julius Cæsar, to whose lot the province of Gaul then fell, made such haste in order to defeat their intentions, that by forced marches he reached the Rhone in eight days' time; and in a few days more broke down the bridge of Genoa, and finished the celebrated wall which extended from that city to Mount Jura. While he was thus employed, he contrived to amuse the Helvetians, who had sent to demand a passage through the country of the Allobroges, and then refused their request. The Helvetians attempted to force their way by strength of arms; but the Romans opposed them, and after several skirmishes gained a complete victory. One hundred and thirty thousand of the Helvetians, it is said, were slain; many were made prisoners; and the rest submitted to the conditions of returning home, and living in subjection to the Roman power. Helvetia, being thus subdued, became a Roman province; and the inhabitants, forgetting the martial and independent spirit which distinguished their ancestors, yielded to the Roman manners, and stooped in tame subjection to the will of their conquerors.

CHAP. II.

Irruption of the Northern Nations—Introduction of Christianity—Division of the Country into Alemannia and Burgundy—Feuds among the Nobles—The Oppression of the People by the Imperial Governors.

IT was the policy of the Romans to extend the use of the Latin tongue, and a knowledge of the Roman arts and sciences, with the progress of their arms; for they justly thought that education and study inspired the minds of barbarians with the sentiments of Romans. Having therefore conquered Helvetia, their next anxious care was to civilize its inhabitants. An appearance of prosperity for some time succeeded; agriculture was encouraged, new towns were founded, and population increased. On the other hand, the vanquished inhabitants were daily sinking into weakness and despondency. They were disarmed by their conquerors, and plundered by the rapacious ministers of the senate and the emperors. Their vigour and their generosity of mind deserted them; and they lost not only the habit, but even the capacity, of acting for themselves. Under these circumstances no nation can subsist for any length of time. The decline of the Roman power, and the irruption of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other northern tribes, hastened the downfal of the unhappy Helvetians, and precipitated them into scenes of the greatest calamity and wo. No longer warlike, they were unable to resist the valour and the activity of

these ferocious barbarians, who laid waste and destroyed their country. The elegant houses and well-cultivated farms which adorned the banks of the Leman lake, were suddenly changed into a prospect of smoking ruins. The flourishing cities of Augusta and Vindonissa were surprised and destroyed; and the consuming flames of war spread over all Helvetia, from the Rhine to Geneva. In many parts the unhappy natives, reduced to despair, deserted their towns and villages, and sought a refuge from the fury of the barbarians in the most mountainous and inaccessible parts of the Rhætian Alps, where they lived upon the produce of their flocks; preferring this course of life to the fatigue of cultivating the earth, and to the agitations of hope and fear attendant on property rendered precarious by incessant depredations.

Thus, in less than a century after the irruption of the northern nations, all traces of Roman policy, arts, and literature, disappeared. New languages, new names of men and things, were every where introduced; and the barbarians, directed by the manners to which they had been accustomed in their woods, became the founders of establishments similar to the rude institutions of the ancient inhabitants of Helvetia: and this country would probably have been again restored to its original state of rustick quiet and martial simplicity, if these invaders had not been themselves successively expelled by fresh swarms still more savage, who produced new calamities, until the North, drained of its people, could no longer furnish means of destruction.

Of those barbarian tribes who settled in Helvetia, the chief were the Burgundians and the

Alemanni. The former, according to Orosius, descended from the Romans; or, more probably, according to Pliny the elder, from the Vandal race. The Burgundian kings whose names occur in history are, Gundocar, Gundiack, Belemer, Gundobald, Godemar, and Sigismund. Gundocar was slain in an action with the Huns, a victorious nation who carried their conquests from the walls of China to the foot of the Alps. Their last king Sigismund being conquered by the Franks, this monarchy became extinct.

The Burgundians having concluded a peace with the Romans, obtained a grant of those provinces, which still retain the appellation of Burgundy. They gradually occupied afterwards either by conquest or by treaty, that tract of country situated between the Reuss, the lake of Geneva, and the mountain of Juna; which district was called Little Burgundy.

The Alemanni were descended from the Frise, the Swedes, and other northern tribes; and assumed this name to denote at once their various lineage and their common bravery. The first appearance of this warlike people was during the deplorable reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. A large body of them having penetrated across the Rhætian Alps into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna; and having enriched themselves with the spoils of Italy, retired with impunity. While they were threatening a second expedition, an alliance between the effeminate Gallienus and the daughter of one of their kings saved the empire for a few years. No sooner, however, was the emperor dead, than the inconstant barbarians broke the peace. Forty thousand horse and double the number of infantry ap-

peared in the field, laid waste the northern part of Helvetia, and traced a line of devastation from the Danube to the Po; but being entirely defeated by the activity of Aurelian, they did not molest the empire until the reign of Constantine. Having obtained from the emperor some settlements on the south side of the Rhine, they established themselves in that part of Helvetia which now comprehends the cantons of Basle, Zurich, Schaffhausen, Soleure, and Lucerne. Their government was monarchical; and their religion was similar to that of the other German tribes. Servius, who wrote about the year 411, informs us, that in his time they inhabited all the north-west part of Helvetia, and extended their dominion as far as the Lake of Geneva. Upon the downfal of the western empire, they over-ran that part of Gaul which is now known by the name of Alsace. Being joined by their countrymen in Germany, they entered the territories of the Ripuarian Franks, putting all to fire and sword. This unprovoked attack summoned Clovis the king of the Salian Franks to the defence of his allies. That prince encountered the bold invaders in the plain of Tolbiack, about forty-five leagues from Cologne: the king of the Alemanni was slain, and the remains of the vanquished army were dispersed. The Gallick territories which they possessed became the prize of their conqueror; and this haughty nation, invincible or rebellious to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the sovereignty of Clovis, who gradually subdued, and afterwards civilized the greatest part of Helvetia.

A. D. 531. About twenty years after the death of Clovis, the sovereignty of all the countries beyond the Alps was formally ceded to his

sons, in a treaty concluded between them and the emperor Justinian. Helvetia and the German kingdom of Thuringia became subject in their whole extent to the Franks.

A tradition, founded upon legendary tales, fixes the introduction of Christianity into Helvetia at the end of the fourth century, when the Theban legion was decimated by the order of Maximian for having refused to sacrifice to the gods of Rome. St. Maurice, who was the chief of the legion, is worshipped in the Valais. Those Christians who escaped settled in Helvetia. The seeds which they planted of the evangelick doctrines, were gradually propagated, and the miracles ascribed to them were innumerable. Other missionaries came from different parts, and preached the gospel in Helvetia. Before the fifth century of the Christian æra, the churches of Basil, Geneva, and the Valais, were built.

Most of the towns of Helvetia owe their origin to the foundation of churches or abbeys. Artisans formed themselves into bodies, and corporations sprung up round the seats of the clergy. The cultivation of several districts situated in parts of difficult access, is to be ascribed in a great measure to the industry of the monks.

In the eighth century Helvetia was divided by the separation of Germany from the empire of the Franks. All that territory which lies to the north of the Reuss, formed a part of the dutchy of Alemannia. The district of Burgundy became subject to Rodolphus, the son of Conrad count of Paris, who was crowned at St. Maurice in the year 888, and who resided principally at Payerne, a small town in the canton of Berne.

His son Rodolphus II. engaged in a war with

the duke of Alemannia, which he terminated by a marriage with Bertha the daughter of that prince. The virtues of this queen are perpetuated among the Swiss; and her testament, perhaps the oldest deed extant, is preserved in the archives of Berne.

The ambition and avarice of Rodolphus urged him to extend his territories. He advanced his arms into Italy, and conquered part of Lombardy, which he exchanged with the count of Provence for the principality of Arles. He died a few years afterwards, in the meridian of his life and the career of victory. His son Conrad preserved the kingdom of Burgundy during a short reign from the fury and destruction of the Huns.—Rodolphus III. the son and successor of Conrad, extinguished the glory which his ancestors had obtained, and ended the second race of Burgundian kings. The weak and effeminate conduct of this prince was little calculated to restrain the ambitious designs of his nobles, who had grown haughty and independent, who oppressed their vassals and insulted their sovereigns. Conscious of the want of abilities, and the decline of his power, he prudently appointed his nephew, the emperor Henry II. his heir and successor. The superior genius of the emperor kept the kingdom of Burgundy in a state of union and vigour during his life-time; but dying before his uncle, all the calamities which flow from anarchy and discord returned with additional force. The succession to the throne was disputed by many powerful rivals, even in the life-time of Rodolph. After a series of domestick wars, a victory obtained by the emperor Conrad over Ernestus duke of Swabia, insured to the former this rich inherit-

ance. He took possession of it by force of arms in the year 1032; but the counts of Champagne, and the other nobles, scorned to consider themselves his subjects, and refused to pay him homage.

His successors the dukes of Swabia established governors in Burgundy to awe their vassals and to levy taxes; but this kingdom, as well as the dutchy of Alemannia, were always the constant causes of dispute; and, owing to dissention and discord, were torn with the quarrels between the emperors and popes, until by a treaty of peace in the year 1081, Burgundy was separated from Swabia, and the name of Alemannia was forgotten.

From the eleventh century Helvetia was entirely subject to the house of Austria. The emperors of Germany, pressed by their enemies, and urged by their vanity and want of money, granted or sold many privileges to several cities and small districts. The privilege of exemption from all contributions that were not directly by orders of the state, proved equally subservient to the policy of the prince and the interest of the people; as it proved the means of gaining to the former the affections of the lower orders, while it prevented the oppression and checked the avarice of the great. The frequent troubles that took place in the empire, occasioned a union of the towns; and the inferior nobility united their strength to the under vassals, in order to resist the tyranny of the rich. The nobles at last lost both their authority and their strength: the increase of ecclesiastical power, the loss of wealth caused by the frequency of private feuds and the fanaticism of the crusades, occasioned the ruin of the greatest part of these families. Perpetual jealousy and discord prevented them from uniting against the

designs of the clergy; while the commonalty were daily gaining strength, and accustoming themselves to the use of arms.

In this state of things, it was no difficult task for an ambitious individual to attach to himself the oppressed multitude by an apparent sympathy for their distresses. Such, most probably, was the policy of Rodolph count of Hapsburg, lord of a castle and some adjacent lands in Upper Germany. He rendered himself conspicuous by his courage, his capacity for business, and his conciliatory spirit.

Among the plebeians had been established *comburgheries*, and among the nobles confraternities. The existence of these two rival confederacies, proves that the country contained even at that time the seeds of revolution. The emperors were the reputed sovereigns of the country; but their authority was little respected by a proud intractable noblesse. They therefore favoured the comburgheries, and opened to them an asylum in certain cities, to which they gave the name of imperial, and which they endowed with certain privileges. But as the nominal sovereigns did not, in appointing governors, provide them with a sufficient number of troops to oppose acts of oppression, the confraternities, regardless of the imperial rescripts, practised every kind of robbery upon their vassals, plundering and usurping their possessions with impunity.

In this melancholy situation the people were ready to throw themselves into the arms of any power that was willing to protect them. On some occasions the cantons of Uri, Underwalden, and Schweitz, had received assistance from Ro-

dolph, in opposition to the nobles. Captivated by his acts of justice, and the popularity of his manners, they chose him in 1277 for their chief. Almost at the same time he was elected emperor of Germany, and was thenceforward enabled to extend to all Helvetia that protection which had been before confined to the three cantons above mentioned.

This emperor continued to treat with great indulgence the Helvetians during the whole of his reign; though, prompted by the ambition of his son Albert, he purchased several abbeys and fiefs in the canton of Schweitz and the neighbouring territory, with the view of uniting all Helvetia into a dutchy. The people, alarmed at the great increase of power which Rodolph obtained over their country by these means, renewed their former alliances, and obtained from the emperor the confirmation of all their privileges.

CHAP. III.

Tyranny of Albert and his Agents—Confederacy of Furst, Melchthal, and Stauffacher—Bravery of William Tell.

NO sooner however did the sceptre devolve to Albert, than he began to evince how opposite his principles and views were to those of his father. He determined to govern the Helvetians with uncontroled away; he refused to ratify their rights; and resolved to erect their whole territory into a principality for one of his sons. He at first attempted to bargain with the three united cantons for the surrender of their independence; but finding them inflexible in their resolutions to be free, he at length had recourse to harsher methods, and plainly demanded of the cantons which had proclaimed Rodolph their chief, that they should acknowledge themselves his vassals. To the agents whom he had sent to them, the Switzers answered, pointing to a roll of diplomata and charters :—" These are our wealth, " the sacred patrimony which we inherit from " our fathers, the inalienable deposit transmitted " to us by our ancestors, of which we are to ren- " der an account to our children, and they to suc- " ceeding generations. We are neither slaves " nor subjects of any particular prince; we are " citizens of the empire, and members of that " august body which recognizes the emperor as " its head. It is to that head that we are united. " Homage paid to any other would in us be " baseness. We should despise ourselves if,

" through fear or weakness, we could be so
" mean as to renounce those prerogatives which
" are as dear to us as our honour, and far dearer
" than our lives."

This noble answer inflamed Albert with rage. He immediately made choice of and sent to the cantons three nobles, as *bailiffs*, or governors, who were notorious for their depravity, and infamous by the corruption of their morals, who were totally destitute of honour, and overwhelmed with debts. The names of these men were Geisler, Landenberg, and Wolfenchiesse. He assigned to each of them their residence in very strong castles, provided with numerous garrisons, situated in the respective cantons, which they were directed to subdue and bend by all possible means to the will of the ambitious Albert. The atrocious acts of tyranny committed by these governors exceed all credibility. Two instances, which produced the first revolutionary concussion, will serve to convey some faint idea of the horrors which blacken the Helvetick annals of that period. Henry de Melchthal, a respectable senior, was tilling his field, when one of Landenberg's satellites came to take away his oxen. The old man murmured. " A peasant like you," replied the ruffian, " is fit for nothing better than dragging his own plough." The farmer's son, a witness of the violence offered to his father, rushed on the insolent agent of tyranny, struck him, and made him quit the field. The youth then secreted himself; but the old man was dragged to the fortress of the governor, and refusing to discover the place of his son's retreat of which indeed he was ingorant, the inhuman tyrant ordered his eyes to be torn out of their

sockets. His son Arnold de Melchthal, who had taken shelter in the house of a friend named Walter Furst, received with agony the horrid recital, and in concert with his patriot friend resolved to inflict just vengeance upon the infamous barbarian.

Another instance of lawless tyranny is exemplified in the story of William Tell. Geisler, governor of Uri, had ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorf, and commanded every passenger on pain of death to pay the same obeisance to it as to himself. William Tell, of Burglen in the valley of Uri, son-in-law to Walter Furst, indignant at this insulting mark of wanton tyranny, disdained to pay an homage so absurd and so humiliating. This manly resolution was punished by the tyrant with the sentence of death. Tell was condemned to be hanged, unless he should be able to strike with his arrow an apple placed upon the head of his son: being an excellent marksman, Tell accepted the alternative, and fortunately cleft the apple without injuring the child. The tyrant Geisler, perceiving another arrow in his belt, asked him for what purpose that was intended; when Tell replied, "It was designed for thee, if I had killed my son." For this heroick answer he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a dungeon at Kuffnacht, the residence of Geisler: he was accordingly bound, and placed in a boat, that Geisler himself might convey him across the lake of Altorf to his castle.

Scarcely, however, had the boat performed half the passage, when a furious squall covered the surface of the lake with threatening waves. Geisler, as humble in the hour of danger as he

had been arrogant when fear was at a distance, entreated Tell, who was accounted the most skilful boatman in the canton, to save him; and unbound his prisoner with his own hands. Tell seated himself at the helm, steered the boat towards a rock, leaped upon it; and then in an instant with the same manly strength pushed back the boat into the lake, escaped, and concealed himself. At length the storm abated, and Geisler gained the shore. As he was about to enter his fortress, Tell, who had by a circuitous route reached the spot before him, discharged an arrow at the tyrant which pierced his heart; and thus paved the way for that conspiracy which laid the foundation of his country's liberty.

After many remonstrances against the tyranny of these governors which served only to increase the cruelties of the tyrants, three patriots, Werner de Staffach of Schweitz, Walter Furst of Uri, and Arnold de Meltchal of Underwalden, at length resolved to put in execution those measures which they had concerted for delivering themselves and their country from the yoke of Austria. Bold and enterprising, and united by friendship, these men had frequently met in private to deliberate upon the important subject: each associated three others in their cause; and these twelve men accomplished their important enterprise without the loss of a single life. Having prepared the inhabitants of their several cantons for a revolt, in the dead of night on the 1st of January, 1308, they surprised the Austrian governors, and conducted them to the frontiers, obliging them to swear that they would never more serve against the Helvetian nation; and then suffered them to depart without an

injury. The other cantons soon engaged in the confederacy, and thus gave birth to the republick of Switzerland. Albert prepared to attack the new-born liberty of Helvetia; and was ready to hazard his forces against the enthusiasm inspired by freedom, when he himself fell a sacrifice to his rapacity and injustice; being assassinated in the presence of his court and army on the banks of the river Prus, in the neighbourhood of Switzerland. The widow of Albert, occupied in revenging the death of her husband, left the cantons to the undisturbed enjoyment of their liberties, and to the provision of the means of strengthening themselves against future attacks. Under these favourable circumstances, the cantons of Uri, Underwalden, and Schweitz, boldly displayed the standard of liberty in 1308.

CHAP. IV.

From the Invasion of Schweitz by Leopold, brother of the Emperor Frederick of Germany, to the Acquisition of the Pays de Vaud.

UNTIL the year 1315 the confederated cantons were unmolested by their former sovereigns. At that period the emperor Frederick sent against them a considerable body of troops under the command of his brother Leopold, whom he directed to enter the country and ravage it with fire and sword. The invaders could only enter it, by endeavouring to force a passage into Schweitz at a defile called the Straits of Morgarten, which thirteen hundred Switzers undertook to defend against the numerous army of Leopold. These patriots posted themselves on the impending mountains, whence they rolled down huge fragments of rock, which crushed the hostile cavalry; and impetuously descending themselves upon the infantry, they discomfited and dispersed them. Leopold was panick-struck and seeking safety in flight, he made his escape, leaving multitudes of his soldiers dead upon the spot. On this memorable occasion the cantons lost only fourteen men; and from the circumstance of the action having taken place in the canton of Schweitz, the confederation which was the result of it took the name of Swiss.

Nothing could be more simple than the condition which formed the basis of the association of the first three cantons. "They were to afford "each other aid in case of attack; to acknow-

" ledge no other authority, protection, or supre-
" macy, than that of the empire; to contract no
" alliance without each other's consent. The
" three states were to admit no judge, who is not
" their fellow-citizen. If any contest should
" arise between the cantons, it was to be decided
" by arbitration; and if one canton refused to
" submit to the award, it was to be compelled by
" the two others. Finally malefactors, incendi-
" aries, robbers, and other criminals, tried and
" condemned in one canton, were to be consider-
" ed as tried and condemned in the others, and it
" was forbidden to afford them an asylum."
Such was the treaty of alliance between Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, which laid the foundation of the Helvetick confederacy. It was ratified at Bremen, and received the appellation of the league of the three Waldstætter, or Forest-cantons.

After these cantons had established their liberty and independence, the neighbouring state of Lucerne, then subject to Austria, was continually harassed by their depredations. Under these circumstances the emperor imprudently loaded the citizens of this canton with taxes as exorbitant as they were unjust. To evade both evils, Lucerne made peace with the confederacy; and having expelled the Austrian party in the year 1332, entered into a perpetual alliance with them, and became a member of the union. The addition of Lucerne to the league enabled the four cantons to resist all the hostile efforts of Austria.

In the year 1386, Leopold, the grandson of that prince who was defeated at the pass of Morgarten, eager to regain the territory he had lost, invaded the canton of Lucerne at the head of a numerous

army, and attended by the first nobility of the empire. The troops of the four cantons, greatly inferior in number, met their enemies at the lake of Sempach, near the town of Surzee. The Austrians were drawn up in firm battalions, accoutred in heavy armour, and furnished with long pikes. The Swiss advanced in the form of a wedge, in order to open their way into the ranks of the enemy, and to break the solidity of the battalion: but their endeavours proved fruitless, and the fate of war hung doubtful; when Arnold de Wilkenreid, devoting himself to certain death, rushed upon the enemy, and seizing as many lances as he could grasp, endeavoured to penetrate their ranks, and was killed in the attempt. His valour, however, opened the way to victory; it inflamed his countrymen with new courage, and taught them the best method of breaking the battalion. The Austrians yielded to the impetuous torrent, fled, and left Leopold with the flower of his army dead upon the field. On the spot where this memorable victory was gained a chapel stands, which was built in commemoration of the event; and in the arsenal of Lucerne, the armour of the valiant Leopold is still preserved, together with a large quantity of cords, with which it is said he intended to have bound the citizens.

In the year 1351, the confederacy of the four Waldstætters formed an alliance with the canton of Zuric. The town of Zuric as an imperial city had enjoyed many privileges obtained from Frederick II. till a civil war between the people and their magistrates nearly reduced it to ruins. After a struggle of two years the magistrates were banished, and a new form of government

was established under the sanction of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, in 1337. After several attempts, however, the exiled magistrates were permitted to return; but being afterwards proved guilty of a conspiracy against the state, they fell a sacrifice to their treasonable designs. This transaction brought upon the people the resentment of the neighbouring nobles; and the emperor Charles IV. refusing to aid them, the canton of Zuric formed an alliance with, and became not only a member of the confederacy, but obtained a pre-eminence in rank above the other four; and has retained that distinction to the present time. Notwithstanding the advantages which the Zutichians derived from this alliance, their experience of the evils and miseries of a ruinous war induced them to submit to an arbitration of their disputes with the house of Austria. The arbitrators included in their award a point which had not been submitted to their judgment; they decided that thenceforward none of the nations of Upper Germany should be at liberty to league themselves with the house of Austria. This decision was equivalent to a declaration that the confederated cantons should not increase their power by the accession of other states. The confederacy, however, not only despised this prohibition, but acted in direct opposition to it.

During a war which ensued between the emperor and these states in the year 1350, the troops of Schweitz, assisted by Zuric, Lucerne, Uri, and Underwalden, entered the canton of Glaris, and having expelled the Austrians, received it into the union; imposing however some restrictions upon the inhabitants, which were not abolished till 1450.

In 1351 the six allied cantons laid siege to Zug, an imperial city, which, lying between Zuric and Schweitz, afforded the Austrians many opportunities of harassing the Swiss. It was resolutely defended by the citizens, who expected succour from Albert duke of Austria; but this prince not being in a condition to assist them, the town at length capitulated upon the most honourable terms. The generosity of the conquerors was equal to the courage displayed by the vanquished; and Zug accordingly was admitted into the confederacy as a free and independent city, upon equal terms. During these events the canton of Berne was perpetually engaged in wars with the house of Austria, or with its neighbours. The states of Berne had, in that part of the Alps which they occupied, formed themselves into a republick, that singly was more powerful than one-half of the seven united cantons. As early as the year 1323, a defensive alliance took place between the Bernese and the Waldstætters, to whose aid they were chiefly indebted for the victory which they obtained over the troops of Austria in 1339. In consequence of this success Berne gained new territories, which placed themselves under its protection. These territories adjoined others which were protected by the Helvetick confederacy. Between the inhabitants of both, certain disputes arose which involved the two republicks in their quarrels; and the misunderstanding was on the point of breaking out into open hostilities. They had, however, the moderation to perceive, that it was by no means the interest of either state that they should become enemies; but that on the other hand, a union of their interests would be the certain means of ob-

taining speedy and permanent peace for territories which, being thus left without any support in their petty dissentions, would naturally find their best policy in amicable agreement. These considerations impelled the Bernese to wish for admission into the Helvetick league, and induced the latter to admit them. The accession of so considerable a canton as Berne to the other seven considerably increased the power of the confederacy.

These eight allied states are to the present distinguished by the appellation of the eight "ancient cantons." Although Berne was the last of these that acceded to the union, yet six of them yielded to it the precedency, in consequence of which they now rank in the following order: Zuric, Berne, Lucerne, Schweitz, Uri, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris.

From a review of the several treaties which formed the constitution of this union, it appears that we ought not to consider the confederated states at this epoch as one body, or one commonwealth. The principal intention of the league was to preserve the publick liberties and private rights of the citizens and subjects of the union against any attacks that might be made upon them; without embracing any hostile views against such rights as belonged to the house of Austria or its nobles.

The origin of the Helvetick diets may be traced in the publick meetings that were appointed upon the frontiers of the respective cantons. The different treaties occasioned many distinct meetings to be held by deputies between the cantons. These meetings were attended with innumerable advantages: they maintained a cordiality, and connected more strongly the bond of union between the cantons; and prepared the way for

a closer and more intimate alliance. As the first members of the Helvetick union had formed no intention of erecting themselves into one separate and independent state, it is natural to suppose that they were actuated by the desire of extending and aggrandizing their respective territories. There were besides two circumstances which strongly operated in drawing them from the strict rules of a defensive alliance, and were at the same time the means of procuring them additional allies: namely, the insatiable ambition and avarice of the nobles, which continually occasioned dissention and rebellion in the neighbouring states; and the intrigues and artifices of the emperors, who, being jealous of the increasing power of the dukes of Austria, often encouraged the inhabitants to break the fetters of their allegiance. Helvetia was thus divided into powerful factions, who were perpetually at variance with each other: the one composed of the nobles, with the dukes of Austria at their head; the other of the free cities and districts, under the protection of the allied cantons.

Thus half a century was spent in wars and treaces with the house of Austria, who seems to have disdained to honour the Helvetick league with either constant peace or regularly-supported war. The year 1370 is remarkable for the first struggle of the Switzers against the French. It arose from the pretensions of Enquernand de Couci, who, inheriting the rights of his mother, the grand-daughter of the emperor Albert, claimed certain lands, which he asserted to have been usurped from his grand-father by the Switzers. They successfully defended their possessions, and, after a bloody battle, drove Couci's auxiliaries from their territory.

From this unsettled state of peace and war, the Swiss derived the advantage of being trained to the use of arms, and were consequently always on their guard. In the year 1393 they subjected themselves to a system of military discipline worthy of the ancient Spartans. They entered into an ordinance, which forbid them, under pain of death, in whatever circumstances they might be placed in war, to violate the sanctity of churches or the honour of women. It enjoined them to defend and succour each other as brethren, notwithstanding any contests which might have previously existed between them, and in spite of all danger to which that mutual assistance might expose them. They were not to quit their ranks in battle, even though they should feel themselves mortally wounded. No Swiss was ever to pillage for his own private emolument; but was to carry all the fruits of victory to the common stock. Finally, the cantons engaged not to undertake any war that had not been previously proposed and determined upon by unanimous consent in a general diet.

The intervals of peace or suspension from hostilities with the house of Austria, afforded also to the cantons an opportunity of strengthening themselves, not by the accession of new states to their confederacy, but by the protection which they granted to some neighbouring states, on which they conferred the right of *comburgherships*. That privilege attached the latter to the Helvetick league, which protected them without any dependence on the part of the protected except respect and deference, and without any of the degrading circumstances of subjection. Such, for instance, were the inhabitants of the valleys of Appenzel, the oppressed vassals of Saint-Gall.

In the year 1400 these people, being loaded by the abbot of St. Gall, with intolerable taxes, joined the citizens of the town of St. Gall, who rebelled against the Austrians. They applied to the Helvetick confederacy for assistance; but these cantons having concluded a treaty of peace with the emperor, refused their alliance; which obliged Appenzel to remain a separate and distinct state for several years.

The treaty which the canton of Zuric formed with the house of Austria in 1442, merits particular notice, as its consequences were the occasion of very important regulations in the constitution of the Helvetick confederacy.

Frederick the Third, the last count of Toggenburgh, had contrived by different artifices to occasion a jealousy between the canton of Zuric and those of Glaris and Schweitz; which would have ended in a civil war had not the confederacy interfered, and compelled them to observe the articles of their treaty. Fresh disputes, however, arose after the death of Frederick; and the citizens of Zuric, with the intention of compelling Glaris and Schweitz to submission, cut off all communication with their inhabitants; by which means these mountaineers were deprived of their supply of corn which they usually received from Zuric, and which constituted the main article of their food. The other cantons, however, espoused their cause, and compelled the Zurichians to refer the dispute to them according to the terms of their engagement. The result of the arbitration was, that Zuric should relinquish her different claims, and provide Glaris and Schweitz with the necessary quantity of grain. The citizens of Zuric, however, regarded this award

as partial, and therefore concluded an alliance with the emperor Frederick III. and the other branches of the house of Austria; which engagement the confederacy considered as an infringement of the articles of the union. The confederacy, in spite of the palliative clauses introduced by Zuric into the treaty, persisted in opposing it, and threatened to use coercive measures to compel that canton to withdraw from her alliance with Austria. In this crisis the Zurichians applied to the emperor for relief, and received into their town a garrison of Austrian soldiers. Hostilities ensued; and in the first action they were defeated, and the burgher-master of Zurich was among the slain. Besieged within their walls, they beheld during two fatal years their fields and villages laid waste and plundered.

During this period the free towns of Basil and Soleure, who were indifferent spectators of the contest between Zuric and the cantons, embraced the opportunity of invading the Austrian territories. The latter applied for aid to Charles VII. king of France, who, as well with a view of dissolving the council of Basil as of assisting the Austrians, ordered a large army to march against the confederacy, under the command of his son Louis. The dauphin entered Alsace, and after laying waste and harassing the adjoining provinces, appeared before the gates of Basil. The confederates had previously thrown into the town, which was but thinly garrisoned, a detachment of fifteen hundred men from their army then employed in besieging Farnsburg. This body of Swiss advanced with determined valour to the plain of Bratteline; where they charged with such fury eight thousand of the enemy's

cavalry, that the latter were driven back as far as the village of Muttenz. Here the repulsed were joined by another corps; but notwithstanding this reinforcement, the Swiss renewed the assault with fresh intrepidity, and obliged them to repass the river Birs, where the main body of their army was chiefly drawn up. Encouraged by their wonderful success, exasperated with the most spirited indignation against the invaders of their country, and disregarding the remonstrances of their officers, they rashly attempted to force their passage, which was guarded by a strong party of the enemy. Their effort proving ineffectual, these gallant men threw themselves into the river, and gained the opposite shore in the face of a battery of cannon, that was playing upon them. The French army, consisting of thirty thousand men, were advantageously posted in an open plain; the Swiss had no alternative than that of throwing down their arms, or gloriously expiring with them in their hands. They bravely preferred the latter: accordingly five hundred of them took possession of a small island near the bridge; and after resolutely defending themselves to the last, were cut to pieces. The same number of soldiers forced their way through the ranks of the enemy, and were making towards Basil, when they were opposed by a large body of horse, posted there to prevent any succours which the town might send to the relief of their countrymen. Being thus surrounded on all sides, they threw themselves into the hospital of St. James, and there resisted for a considerable time the assault of the whole French army. The building was at length set on fire; the cannon battered down the walls; and still they fought,

resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate, and to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Of the five hundred only sixteen escaped; and they were branded with infamy for not having sacrificed their lives in defence of their country.—Such was the effect of the battle upon the mind of the dauphin Louis, that he declared that he derived no other advantage from the victory than a knowledge of the valour of the Swiss. He accordingly gave up his designs of conquest; and after remaining three days employed in burying the dead upon the field of battle, he retired with his shattered army into Alsace. The remembrance of this action is still cherished with the warmest enthusiasm by the Swiss. The inhabitants of Basil form parties every year at an inn situated near the hospital and burying-ground, where they commemorate in red wine produced from vineyards near the field of battle, the heroick deeds of their countrymen, who sacrificed their lives on this occasion. This wine is called the blood of the Swiss.

The event of these battles lessened the resentment of the confederate cantons against Zuric; and the latter, wearied with the calamities of a civil war, renounced its connexions with the House of Austria, and was again solemnly confirmed the first canton in rank of the Helvetick confederacy. Upon this occasion two articles of great importance in the constitution of Switzerland were finally settled: first, That all disputes between any particular cantons should be decided by the mediation of the neutral cantons; and if either of the two contending parties should refuse to abide by their judgment, they were to be com-

pelled by force of arms. Secondly, notwithstanding the reserved right of any canton to contract alliances with foreign powers, yet the confederates were to judge how far such alliances were contradictory or incompatible with the articles of the general union; and if proved to be so, they were empowered to annul them.

The loss of territory which Sigismund archduke of Austria sustained by the repeated victories of the Swiss cantons, induced that prince, in 1460, to apply to several neighbouring powers, with an intention of forming a league against them. He at length prevailed upon Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to listen to his proposals; and offered him Sundgace, Alsace, Bresgau, and the four Forest Towns, for the loan of eighty thousand florins. Charles accordingly informed the cantons that Sigismund was under his protection, and would be supported by his powers. He also immediately placed over his newly-acquired territories in Alsace, bailiffs who became the tyrannical oppressors of the people. Berne, in the name of the confederacy, dispatched an embassy to Charles, complaining of these grievances. The haughty prince received the deputies with much pomp; and, after compelling them to fall prostrate on the ground while they delivered their remonstrance, he dismissed them without an answer. After this ignominious treatment, the Helvetick confederacy entered into a defensive alliance with Louis the Eleventh, who, being jealous of the duke of Burgundy's power, secretly inflamed their just indignation. This treaty was confirmed in 1474, at Lucerne, and was called the Hereditary Union; an appellation appropriated to the

treaties between the Swiss and the house of Austria.

Charles at length saw his error, and exerted all his efforts to pacify the Swiss. They rejected his overtures with disdain, and prepared for a war, which appeared to be inevitable. Charles concluded a separate peace with Louis, and directed his whole force against the cantons. He entered Switzerland with an army of sixty thousand men, besieged the town of Granson, and carried it by assault. Here, however, his successes ended: his numerous army was completely routed near the lake of Morat on the 22d of June, 1476; and a square building, filled with the bones of the Burgundian soldiers who were slain, is erected on the spot where the battle was fought, and preserves the memory of this celebrated victory. The ambitious Charles was afterwards slain in an engagement with the duke of Lorraine, and by his death a war was terminated in which the Swiss had given the most convincing proofs of their valour, and had extended the renown of their heroism all over Europe.

The consequences of the successful termination of this war operated very powerfully on the future politicks of Switzerland. By the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, the heiress of Charles, with the archduke Maximilian, eldest son of the emperor Frederick the Third, the house of Austria acquired possession of the Netherlands, and having frequent disputes with France, the alliance of the Swiss cantons became an object worthy of the courtship of both parties. Being now secured from invasion themselves, the confederated cantons assisted both France and Austria by turns,

their swords being at the disposal of the highest bidder. The rich spoil which they obtained from the duke of Burgundy, in all probability first corrupted that simplicity which had preserved their own independence, and seduced them to the disgraceful situation of mercenaries.

Still, however, it appears that these alliances with France and Austria were rather the private and distinct treaties of separate cantons, than of the Helvetick body. Policy and interest had united the first members of the confederacy, and the existing differences in political and religious principles were overlooked. No sooner, however, were their liberties secured, than their difference of opinion upon these subjects became the source of violence and disorder. The acquisition of territory by the more aristocratical states excited the ambition of the democratical cantons, and the conquests of the latter were viewed with displeasure by the former.

At the conclusion of the war with Charles the Bold, the deputies of the different cantons assembled at Stantz in order to compromise their differences, and to take into consideration an alliance which Zuric, Berne, and Lucerne, had contracted with Fribourg and Soleure. This treaty was considered by Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Glaris, as a breach of the union, and they therefore refused to receive them. The animosity of each party grew so violent that the deputies were on the point of separation without having effected a reconciliation; and a civil war appeared to be on the eve of taking place in Switzerland, when the patriotism of Nicholas de Flue, a superstitious hermit, aided by his eloquence, happily extinguished the rising flame. This person was born

at Saxelen, in the canton of Underwalden, in the year 1417. Descended from a noble family, he signalised himself in defence of his country in the war with Sigismund of Austria. To the most excellent qualities of the heart and mind, he added the exterior graces of person, and was remarkable for the dignity of his feelings and the affablity of his manners. Yet in his fiftieth year Nicholas de Flue was seized with a mistaken zeal for religion, quitted the world of which he was so useful and so honourable a member, and became a hermit. He retired to Ranst, a few miles from his native village, where he built an hermitage and a small chapel, and resided there in the strict practice of a monkish life. Nicholas de Flue was in his sixty-fourth year when the apprehension of civil war reached his hermitage. His patriotism was kindled, and he travelled during a whole night in the depth of winte. to Stantz. He arrived there on the very morning on which the deputies were preparing to take their departure. The force of his eloquence prevailed, and he persuaded them to assemble once, when he was chosen arbiter of the dispute. By his advice all differences between the contending parties were amicably adjusted, and Fribourg and Soleure were received into the Helvetick confederacy.

By the treaty entered into at this time, and which is called the Convention of Stantz, the articles of union and mutual protection were finally settled. A reciprocal guarantee of their several forms of govenment was stipulated, and it was agreed that the magistrates of each canton should receive assistance from the forces of the other in case of internal faction or revolt. The eight ancient cantons, however, reserved to themselves

the right of declaring war against any foreign state: while Fribourg and Soleure were prohibited from commencing hostilities, or forming alliances without the consent of the confederacy; and it was even further ordained, that in case a rupture should ensue between the old cantons, the two new ones should observe a strict neutrality.

An event which took place in 1489 assisted to establish this right, which the old cantons assumed over Fribourg and Soleure. After the revolution in which the inhabitants of Appenzel shook off their dependence upon the abbots of St. Gall, the abbot Gaspar of Landenberg entered into an alliance with Zuric, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Glaris; by which treaty these four cantons took the abbey of St. Gall under their protection. Another abbot, of the name of Ulrick, who was offended with the town for having refused him the grant of some lands to enlarge the domains of the abbey, formed the design of establishing a monastery of considerable magnitude. The people, who were suspicious of the abbot's intentions, after several fruitless remonstrances against his plan, assembled together, and demolished the building almost immediately after he had built it. The town refused to make the abbot any recompense for the loss, and the cantons were obliged to send a body of troops to obtain satisfaction for the outrage. The leaders of the riot absconded; and the people submitted tamely without any opposition. The town was laid under contribution to indemnify the abbot and the cantons for their losses and expenses. The citizens of Appenzel were deprived of their right over

the bailliage of the Rhinthal, which they had acquired in 1460. The other cantons, who took no part in the rebellion, were afterwards admitted to an equal share in the government of this district, which formed one of the common bailliages in Switzerland.

The towns of Basle and Schaffhausen were admitted members of the Helvetick Union in the year 1501; and in 1513 the canton of Appenzel obtained the same favour. By this accession the number of the members of the league was increased to thirteen; and it never exceeded that number. The nature of the treaties by which the three last cantons were admitted into the confederacy was similar to those of Soleure and Fribourg.

Nature seems to have placed the Alps, the Jura, the Rhine, and the Rhone, as permanent boundaries and bulwarks of the Helvetick territories; not only as means of security to their liberties, but also of separation from the neighbouring powers, who, being incessantly engaged in warfare with each other, might otherwise have perpetually involved them in their quarrels. The real interests of the Swiss should have certainly confined them within these natural barriers; to break down which the possession of remote provinces, or the alliances of foreign powers, ought never to have tempted them. The only instance in which they seem to have deviated from this prudent policy, was the conquest of the Italian bailliages; and to this step they were no doubt tempted by the proximity of their situation to Uri and Underwalden, and the fertility of their valleys. In the year 1410 the troops of the whole Helvetick body passed the

Alps, plundered the town of Domo d'Ossola, ravaged the rich country round the lake of Locarno, and returned laden with their spoils to pass the winter in their humble cottages. Elevated by their successes, the following summer they again descended into the plains of Italy, laid waste the dutchy of Milan, and again returned to their homes without attempting to make any settlement in the conquered territory. Philip Maria, duke of Milan, exerted all his endeavours to prevent this important town from falling into their hands. He sent a numerous army commanded by Carmagnola, to attack eight thousand Swiss who were marching to take possession of it. A battle of the most sanguinary kind ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory; the Italians, however, remained masters of the town.

From this period nothing material occurred till the year 1466, when Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the successor of Philip Maria in the dukedom of Milan, formed an alliance with Uri, Underwalden, and Schweitz. The principal article of the treaty was the cession of the Levantine valley to the canton of Uri, for an annual tribute of three hawks and a cross-bow. Ten years afterwards, however, when Charles duke of Burgundy invaded Switzerland, the treacherous Sforza sent a body of troops to his assistance. On the defeat and death of Charles at the battle of Nancy, the Swiss again resolved to make an attempt on Bellinzone; but as the season of the year was too far advanced, they wintered at Geornico. The duke collected an army of fifteen thousand men, and attacked the Swiss, but was repulsed with considerable loss,

and some of the artillery which were taken on this occasion are still preserved in the small town as trophies of the victory. The Swiss, however, did not follow up this advantage immediately, and no further attempt was made on Bellinzone until the year 1500; when the inhabitants, harassed by the changes that had so frequently taken place in the Milanese, voluntarily surrendered to the three cantons. When the French conquered Milan, they claimed of the Swiss Bellinzone: their requisition, however, was not complied with, and the Swiss retained possession. At length the seven Italian bailliages were formally ceded to the confederacy by Maximilian Sforza, in gratitude for the aid which they, the cantons, afforded him in the expulsion of the French from Italy. They were confirmed to them three years afterwards by Francis I. upon a treaty of peace, which he made with them.

About the same period the cantons of Berne and Fribourg were stimulated with the ambition of extending their dominions towards the south. They made frequent inroads into the Pays de Vaud, under the pretence of defending their ally the town of Geneva from the attacks of the duke of Savoy; and in 1536 the whole of this rich territory was wrested from the duke of Savoy, as well as other of his possessions which were situated near the lake, by the canton of Berne. The Fribourgers and the inhabitants of the Vallais at the same time seized upon those lands in the duke of Savoy's dominions, which were in their neighbourhood. The duke, though incapable of recovering by force the territories thus wrested from him, did not renounce his right to them. Through the mediation of France,

Spain and the neutral cantons, a compromise at length took place, by which the duke received back Gex and Chablais, and resigned all pretensions to the Pays de Vaud, ceding it to Berne and Fribourg for ever.

From this epoch the limits of Switzerland have not been diminished, nor extended.

CHAP. V.

Religious Dissentions. Battle of Cappel; and Death of Zuinglius.

THE concussions by which Europe was shaken on account of religious disputes during the sixteenth century were severely felt in Switzerland. The abusive purposes to which the indulgences of the Roman church had been converted, by being sold to the people at enormous prices, as sponges which possessed the power of wiping away their sins, excited among others in a peculiar degree the indignation of Zuinglius, a priest of Zuric. From a just detestation of that infamous traffick, its oppugners proceeded to a persuasion that the dogma which inculcated a confidence in these indulgences must be erroneous. This doubt naturally gave rise to others respecting the power of the popes who promulgated them: to these again succeeded discussions on all the points of religious discipline and principally on the nature and obligation of vows. The first and most zealous proselytes gained by Zuinglius were the nuns of a convent at Zuric. As a proof of their faith in the doctrines of their new preacher, they quitted their nunnery, and the younger part of their number entered into the matrimonial state. Zuinglius himself, though a priest, and advanced in years, married also. The innovations

attracted the attention of the magistrates. Those of Zuric approved of the conduct of their priest and his disciples. Not only were they pleased to see his opinions disseminated through the country under their own jurisdiction, but they viewed with an evil eye those of the other cantons who, by prohibitory laws, retarded the progress of what was emphatically called "the Reformation." They assumed the title of Evangelick, and declared the reformed doctrine to be the only true Gospel.

In 1523 the Zurichians had gained over the Grisons to the reformation. At this time the Roman-catholick cantons, into which the reformation had not yet penetrated, thought it their duty to adopt vigorous measures of precaution against what they considered as dangerous innovations. As the Roman-catholick cantons formed a majority, they pronounced sentence of exclusion from the Helvetick confederacy against those which professed, or should profess, the new religion. Their anathema accordingly fell on Zuric, Berne, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, which already contained numerous advocates and proselytes of reformation, who were denominated non-conformists.

But it was not only against the Roman church that Zuinglius and his adherents had to contend. The far more arduous controversy was with one who was cherished as a brother, and even revered as one of the first champions of true religion. The article of faith in which Zuinglius materially differed from Martin Luther, was the true meaning of the words used in the institution of the Lord's Supper; the latter adopting them in a strict literal sense, while Zuinglius considered

them as merely symbolical. At the desire of Philip landgrave of Hesse, they in the month of September held a conference at Marburg, in the presence of the most eminent divines who had separated from the church of Rome; where though each persisted in his opinion, they yet parted with cordial assurances of mutual regard and friendship. In consequence of these unhappy differences on religious subjects arose the civil wars of Switzerland.

Three memorable battles were fought with the sanguine intrepidity of religious zeal. On the ninth of June, 1530, the army of Zuric took post near the convent of Cappel. Zuinglius, who was no stranger to battles, having been present at those of Novano and Marignan in the capacity of chaplain, desired to attend this expedition. Regardless of the remonstrances of the senate, who opposed his wishes on account of the value of his life, he mounted his steed, grasped a spear, and followed the camp. An eye-witness wrote thus from the camp:—"It is admirable to behold what order and subordination prevails among the multitude: the word of God is preached daily by Ulrick, Zuinglius, the abbot of Cappel, the priest of Kussnacht, and many other learned divines. Not an oath is pronounced, not a quarrel is heard of: we pray before and after each meal; no cards or dice are ever seen; not a prostitute is tolerated. We sing, dance, and practice manly sports; and are eager to encounter the *pensioners*." By the mediation of the neutral cantons and the cities of Constance and Strasburg, hostilities were suspended for a time.

The tranquillity thus procured was, however, of short duration. The five cantons learned

with the utmost indignation, that at a diet held at Zuric, on the 22d of May, 1531, the reformed cities had, against the declared opinion of Zuinglius, who never ceased to preach and recommend forbearance, resolved to break off all communication with them, and even to deprive them of the necessaries of life which they derived from those cities. After several fruitless attempts towards an accommodation, these cantons published an hostile declaration against Zuric. They formed a camp at Zug, and sent detachments to ravage the free bailliages. Zuric was dilatory and undecided in its preparations. Zuinglius, who now saw the urgency of the case, found great difficulty in persuading the senate and Rudolph Lavater, the military commander, to call together the forces of the canton. A small party was sent out to meet the enemy, whose numbers by this time had increased to upwards of eight thousand; but this party was ordered not to hazard an engagement. On the tenth of October the senate at length ordered the great banner to be brought forth; but instead of four thousand men, who heretofore had accompanied it, only seven hundred joined the standard. Zuinglius attended them as chaplain. This detachment hastened with all possible speed across Mount Albis. Some, either from cowardice or disaffection, exclaimed, that they could not possibly arrive in time, and resolved not to proceed. "As to me," said Zuinglius, "I will, in the name of God, advance and join our brave countrymen. I will either assist in rescuing them, or perish with them." At three in the afternoon the banner arrived at Cappel and

joined the forces that had preceded, their whole strength now amounting to about two thousand men. Early on the next morning the catholick army drew out in complete armour, and close array. The leaders of Zuric deliberated in council whether they should abide their approach or withdraw. Rudolph Gallman, of the free bailliagers, stepped forth, and stamping his foot on the ground—"This," cried he, "shall be my grave. God forbid that I should ever yield one single step to an enemy!" The cannonading began at noon: the Zurichers avoided its first effects by falling on their faces: they then rose and maintained an obstinate fight for more than two hours; when about three hundred of the most intrepid among the enemy forced themselves into the centre of them, as they were endeavouring to form into two columns: some fled instantly, and threw the remainder into confusion. A person from the catholick army came among them, and, personating one of their own number, represented to them the impossibility of making an effectual stand, and exhorted them to retreat. They followed his advice, and were pursued till night with much slaughter. The triumphant foe then returned to the field of battle, fell upon their knees, and returned thanks to the holy Virgin and all the saints for their victory; they then sacked the camp of the Zurichians, and with horrid imprecations put to death the wounded, who had been left behind. A few, less inhuman than the rest, took some of them prisoners, dressed their wounds, and afforded them shelter from the intense cold. Zuinglius was among the wounded. He had

been stunned and thrown down by a shower of stones, and trampled upon by the fugitives and their pursuers; he recovered several times, but was too much exhausted to support himself. In his last effort he raised himself upon his knees, and exclaimed, "They may indeed kill the body, but they cannot destroy the soul;" and then with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, he once more fell backward. A catholick soldier, observing his quivering lips, offered to bring him a confessor, to which he nodded dissent. A captain of Underwalden, who came by at the moment, fired with holy indignation against the obdurate heretick, pierced him through the neck. Thus fell Ulrick Zuinglius; a man whom all parties allow to have possessed an heroick spirit, a greater degree of moderation than most of the other reformers, uncommon sagacity, combined with profound and extensive learning and refined taste. He was ever averse to compulsive measures, but at all times willing to hazard his life in support of his firm persuasion. His manners were affable and conciliatory: he was a friend to cheerfulness and innocent mirth; and, though indulgent to others, severely rigid towards himself. The conquerors exulted in his fall: they caused his body to be quartered by the hangman of Lucerne, and to be burnt; and lest his ashes should become an object of veneration to his followers, they mixed pieces of hog's flesh with his mangled limbs.

With Zuinglius also fell fifteen other learned divines, whom a sense of duty had brought into the field. The number of those who were slain on the part of Zuric, according to Bullinger, was five hundred and twelve; and the loss of

the catholicks did not exceed, according to the most exaggerated account, two hundred. Zuric sent out fresh forces, which were joined by reinforcements from Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, and other places. These troops, however, met with new disasters, and the city was at length compelled to sue for a separate peace. A treaty was negociated and signed on the sixteenth of November. Each party was by this treaty confirmed in the free exercise of its religion. Zuric agreed not to afford any protection to the religion of the joint bailliages; and the indemnification which the five cantons claimed for the expenses of the war was referred to the general pacification that remained to be concluded with Berne. It was further stipulated, that in any future differences the law of arbitration should be resorted to. The Bernese lost no time in following the example of the Zurichians in accepting terms similar to those which had restored peace to Zuric: with the addition and conditions that they should pay three thousand crowns to the five cantons for damages occasioned to the abbey of Muri and other religious edifices; that they should exempt Underwalden from all further claims; and that the expenses of the war, amounting to five thousand crowns, should be paid jointly by Berne and Zuric. This treaty was concluded by the mediation of the king of France, the duke of Savoy, the margrave of Baden, and some of the neutral cantons; and was signed on the twenty-second of November. This unfortunate issue of the war greatly retarded the progress of the reformation; which is the more to be lamented,

as it is now generally acknowledged that had the protestant cities unanimously persevered, and had kept the field only a few days longer, the catholicks would have been compelled, by want of provisions, to have accepted any terms which the former might have prescribed to them.

CHAP. VI.

View of the Confederate and Associate States.

HAVING thus far described the rise and progress of the Helvetick union, it is necessary to bestow some attention on the nature of the connexion between the whole, or any part of the united cantons, with the several allies who may be distinguished as associate or confederate states. The former description belonged to the towns of St. Gall, Mulhausen, and Bienne; the latter to the Grisons, the republick of the Vallais, Geneva, Neufchatel, and the bishop of Basle. The town of St. Gall entered into an alliance with the six cantons, Zuric, Berne, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Glarus, after the abbots had put the Abbey under the protection of the confederacy. By this treaty, the inhabitants engaged not to enter into an alliance without the approbation of the cantons, and in all disputes to submit to their judgment. St. Gall, from the date of this treaty, always furnished its quota of troops, and sent deputies to the different diets.

Mulhausen, a little republick which is situated in Sundgau, a district of Alsace, about fifteen miles from Basle, held the most general alliance with the Helvetick cantons, of all the associated allies. It preserved the privileges which it had acquired from the emperors during the times of feudal tyranny, by contracting an alliance with Basle, Strasburg, and the towns of Alsace and Swabia; and afterwards in the middle of the fifteenth century with Berne, Fribourg, and So-

leure. In 1513 it was admitted into the confederacy; which league preserved its independence and liberties from the encroachments of the empire on one hand, and from the attacks of France on the other.

The territory of Bienne lies between the lake of that name, and a chain of the Jura mountains. It was not an independent state, as the bishop of Basle was its sovereign. It entered into an alliance with Berne in 1352, with Soleure in 1382, and with Fribourg in 1496. It was consequently connected with France as an ally of the Helvetick body, and sent a representative to the annual diet.

The most considerable of all the allies of Switzerland was the republick of the Grisons, which was composed of three leagues; the Grey League, the House of God, and the Ten Jurisdictions. In 1497 the Grey League, and in the following year the League of God's House, entered into a perpetual treaty with Zuric, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris. The League of the Ten Jurisdictions was not included in the same treaty, yet it was considered as entitled to the same assistance and good offices of the cantons in consequence of its connexion with the other two. The three leagues afterwards formed a close alliance with Berne and Zuric, to whose mediation they frequently had recourse in disputes. By these treaties, the Grisons became the allies of the Swiss, and furnished the particular cantons with which they were united, with succours, in case of invasion. They made several conquests in Lombardy; and the Valteline, Chiavenne, and Bormeo, were ceded to them at the treaty of perpetual peace.

between Francis I. and the Swiss; but they were not included in the treaty of Soleure concluded between Louis XVI. and the other states of Switzerland.

The republick of the Vallais was also a political body, composed of ten small commonwealths, called Dixains. The Upper Vallais comprised seven of these, and the Lower three. The bishop of Sion was, in many respects, the sovereign over the greatest part of this confederacy. In the years 1416 and 1417 three Dixains of the Vallais entered into an alliance with Lucerne, Uri, and Underwalden; and about fifty years afterwards, the whole republick formed a perpetual treaty with these three cantons and that of Schweitz. In 1528 they formed a particular alliance with the seven catholick cantons, in defence of their common religion. The Vallais, like the Grisons, were not consulted in the Helvetick diets, except in affairs of the highest importance.

Geneva, whose history is given at length in the following pages, often solicited to be admitted a member of the Helvetick union, but was always rejected. By different treaties with Berne, Fribourg, and Zuric, this city was however considered as an ally of the confederacy.

Neufchatel aud Vallingin were seized by the cantons in 1512, during their war with France; but after the treaty of peace, Louis XII. prevailed upon them to deliver up these states to John of Hochberg, as heir to Louis of Orleans from whom they had been wrested. Thus though Neufchatel and Vallingin remained under the sovereignty of a limited monarchy, their privileges were placed under the protection of Berne

and Fribourg, who were arbiters in all disputes between the people and their sovereign, and who often decided against that sovereign's will. These states were therefore considered as independent of the Germanick body, and a neutral power in all the wars between France and the emperor. Religious zeal occasioned particular treaties between the catholick cantons and the allies who professed the same religion. An alliance of this sort was concluded between the cantons and the bishop of Basle in 1579, and renewed at different periods. The territory of the bishop formed two general divisions: the first was situated to the south of the celebrated pass of Pierre Pertuis, and made part of Switzerland; the second, to the north of the same boundary, included that district situated within the German empire. In the former lies the valley of St. Imier: and the latter comprises those of Leffen, Delmont, and Munster; a tract of country which, in point of beautiful and romantick scenery, is not surpassed by any part of Switzerland. The first alliance which the inhabitants of this delightful country made with Berne, was contracted in 1484; when that canton, and the bishop of Basle, respectively supported two candidates for the provostship of Munster. The Bernese took possession of the whole valley, and exacted homage from the inhabitants; but at the treaty of Conrandelin they restored the valley to the bishop, on the following conditions: that the inhabitants should be maintained in all their privileges, continue as coburgers with Berne under the protection of that republick, remain neuter in case of war with Berne and the bishop, and follow the standard of the former when she was engaged in hostilities

with any foreign power. This treaty of co-burghership, renewed at different intervals, was the cause of frequent quarrels between Berne and the bishop, and in 1705 and 1711 occasioned an open rupture. These disputes were finally settled at the pacification of Arau, when the bishop ratified the co-burghership, confirmed all the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, and consented to the mediation and interference of Berne, who annually sent one of its magistrates to the valley of Munster for the purpose of inquiring if the civil and religious immunities were kept inviolate.

Such was the nature of the connexion of Switzerland with its associate or confederate allies. And notwithstanding some of these states were allied only with particular cantons; yet if any of them were attacked, those cantons with whom they were in alliance not only supplied them with succours, but required the joint aid of the other cantons, who united in their defence either as immediate guarantees or as auxiliaries of the immediate guarantees.

CHAP. VII.

From the Battle of Cappel in 1531, *to the Peace of Westphalia in* 1647.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fuel which religious zeal afforded to the passions of men of different persuasions during the progress of the reformation, the means supplied by the constitution of the Swiss union for allaying the flames of civil discord still preserved the vigour of the confederacy: notwithstanding the bloody wars into which this brave and interesting people were betrayed by their unhappy difference of religious sentiments, they were still indissolubly united to each other by a kindred spirit of liberty and independence. From the peace of 1531, which followed the defeat of the Protestants at Cappel, history has recorded scarcely any publick transactions of the Swiss during a period of more than two centuries, excepting the detail of the various alliances which different states formed with foreign powers, and the many eminent services rendered by their troops to the sovereigns in whose armies they were at various times engaged.

Some partial contests among themselves however still agitated the cantons. Four cantons, two of which were the principal ones, had adopted the reformation; seven remained firmly addicted to the faith of their ancestors; and the other two admitted both religions into their country, and even their senates. Of the twenty-

three subject districts, only Morat and Granson became wholly protestant; sixteen retained their former creed, and five admitted both religions. Among their allies, Geneva, Neufchatel, Bienne, Mulhausen, and the town of St. Gall, renounced the doctrine of Rome; while the little republick of Gersau and the abbey of Engelberg persisted in their ancient modes of worship. In the Grison leagues, after considerable disturbances and many fluctuations, both creeds were at length admitted by publick authority. The reformation at one time had made progress in the Vallais, the Valteline, and the Italian bailliages: but popery at last prevailed, and at Locarno those who refused to adhere to the established doctrines were compelled to quit the country; on which occasion no less than sixty families, among whom were several of considerable note, withdrew to Zuric, and contributed essentially to promote the commerce and manufactures of that already flourishing city. This religious separation was by no means in all places topographical; the inhabitants of different persuasions in many places lived promiscuously together; and many large families were divided into branches, whose contradictory belief and stern fanaticism frequently proved the source of destructive feuds and great calamities.

In 1580 the Boromean or Holy League took place. Cardinal Charles Boromeo, archbishop of Milan, a prelate of uncommon courage, tried every method of reclaiming the confederates to the pale of his church. The five old catholick cantons had already entered into an alliance with the Vallais, as well for the purpose of protection, as of propagating their own religion: and at the instiga-

tion of the cardinal, they formed a compact for the same purpose with the bishop of Basle. John Francis Bonom, bishop of Vencelli, had by this time arrived in Switzerland in the character of nuncio. He had been received with great pomp and solemnity by the seven catholick cantons, but was refused admittance into the Vallais and the Grisons. This prelate forwarded with earnest zeal the league which cardinal Boromeo had industriously promoted among the catholick confederates: by introducing monastick orders for the purpose of making converts, and by enforcing the decrees of the council of Trent, he soon alarmed the protestant states, who plainly perceived that his grand object was to suppress the reformation. Accordingly, when he entered the gates of Berne unexpectedly with a numerous retinue, chiefly consisting of ecclesiasticks, the whole body of the citizens received him with marks of disapprobation; and the magistrates sent a deputation to represent to him the danger to which he exposed himself, and to urge the necessity of his departure. He acquiesced, and withdrew; but not until he had experienced some insults from the populace. His complaints concerning this reception were so vehement, that an open rupture between Berne and the catholick cantons would have ensued, had not the neutral cantons interfered and accomplished a reconciliation.

When discord has once invaded a country, the most trifling incident may be easily converted into a cause of jealousy and contention. About this time the acceptance of the reformed Gregorian calendar, which was proposed by the council of Trent, became a cause of serious controversy and warm opposition. The seven cathe-

lick cantons admitted it without hesitation; but the other six, considering it as an attempt of Rome to encroach upon their independence, peremptorily rejected the proposal; and this trifling affair contributed to widen the breach that had already in a great degree estranged the cantons from each other. One of the reasons assigned by the peasants of Glaris, both protestants and catholicks, is not a little ludicrous. At the upper extremity of the principal valley on the frontier of the Grison country, is a natural aperture in a rock, called St. Martin's hole, through which, on the third of March and the third of September, old style, the sun at noon shines on the church steeple of the village of Elms. The peasants, when the new calendar was offered them, rejected it with indignation, observing, that should they admit it, the sun would no longer dart its rays on that steeple on those periodical days.

In 1581 a difference that had arisen at Mulhausen between two brothers, Jacob and Matthias Finninger, and some of their fellow-citizens, concerning a copse of no great extent in their neighbourhood, proved the cause of a feud which was not terminated without much misery and bloodshed. The Finningers were cast, and, considering themselves aggrieved, they appealed to the cantons; and arbitrators from Basle and Zuric confirmed the sentence which had been pronounced against them. Jacob, incensed at the decree, appealed to the catholick cantons, raised a faction in the city, and spoke injuriously of the senate; he was imprisoned and afterwards banished; and his brother Matthias voluntarily followed him into exile. The catholick cantons warmly

espoused their cause, sent deputies to demand the reinstatement of the two brethren, and, their demand being rejected, they renounced their alliance with the city.—Some years after, the faction which arose from this occasion became sufficiently powerful to depose the magistracy, and to institute a new senate. The leaders took arms, seized on the publick granaries and wine-cellars, and caused seals to be affixed to the treasury. A criminal court was established by them, at which Matthias Finninger presided: upon which most of the principal inhabitants fled from the city, and in their turn invoked the interference of the protestant cantons. Notwithstanding the party which now triumphed in Mulhausen was openly countenanced by the catholicks, and possessed a decided superiority over the protestant interest, yet the protestant cantons, and Glaris, aware that this infraction of an established constitution was a dangerous violation of the fundamental laws of the confederacy, determined at length to follow up their ineffectual attempts to conciliate by coercive means.

An attack was accordingly made upon the city by the troops of Zuric, Berne, and Schaffhausen, on the 14th of June, 1587. One of the gates of the city was forced open by a petard; and about one hundred of the confederates, with Lewis D'Erlach, the commander in chief, at their head, rushed into the town, where they were met by the exasperated burghers and their new masters. After a severe contest and much bloodshed, the latter were nearly overpowered, when one of the burghers found means to drop the portcullis in the gate. The party who had entered the town were thus cut off from all succour, and were in

their turn reduced to the greatest extremity. They dispersed, in hopes of escaping the fury of the citizens by concealment: but many surrendered upon the conditions of the laws of war, that their lives should be spared. This condition was granted, but was most infamously broken. The prisoners were conducted to a remote place behind the convent, and there inhumanly butchered. Meanwhile the besiegers used their utmost efforts to force a way into the town, and rescue their gallant brethren, they succeeded at length in breaking down the portcullis with their battle-axes, crowded in great numbers through the gate, and spread throughout the city. Erlach, who had been wounded in the thigh, being now once more surrounded by his friends, repeatedly called out, "Peace, peace!" and exerted himself, though in vain, to stop the carnage. The sun was set, and the din of arms, the shouts of the conquerers, the cries of the wounded and expiring, and the shrieks of women and children, added to the gloom of night, spread the utmost horror and desolation throughout the city. The burghers, whose rash daring spirits were now broken, brought forth their deposed magistrates, Ziegler and Hartman; presented them in chains to the infuriated assailants; and, throwing aside their weapons, in the name of these venerable hostages implored for mercy. The women were called upon to join their supplications: they came forth with their children in their cradles, and placed them in rows before them, as a barrier against the spreading havock. This sight softened the fury of the conquerors: Erlach proclaimed a cessation of hostilities, and was instantly obeyed. The two aged burgomasters, and the town clerk,

who had been with them cast into prison, were immediately released; and all the citizens who had borne arms were put into confinement. On the 30th of June, deputies arrived from Zuric, Berne, Glaris, Basle, and Schaffhausen, and established a court for the trial of the delinquents. All who appeared to have been mere auxiliaries, among whom were two hundred Austrians, were immediately released, and suffered to depart. The citizens were distinguished into two classes; the ringleaders, and those who had been evidently seduced. Among the former, heavy charges were brought against two desperate adventurers, Dummel and Langenstein: they were convicted of having fomented the sedition, and committed more slaughter than any insurgents; the former was sentenced to be beheaded, and the latter to be hanged. These were the only delinquents who suffered in the city. The deposed magistrates were reinstated, and the deputies, having made some arrangements for the future security of the town, retired amidst the blessings and acclamations of the inhabitants. The Finningers, the original cause of all these calamities, had withdrawn from the city before the siege, under pretence of going in quest of further aid. Jacob was seized in the month of August in the territories of Berne, and, as a disturber of the publick peace, he was publicly beheaded.

The attack upon the city of Geneva in 1602, under the command of the sieur d'Albigny, at the instance of the duke of Savoy will be more properly noticed in the history of that republick.

Among the melancholy effects of the religious feuds which arose out of the reformation, the wars which for a long period of time ravaged the

country of the Grisons afford a striking example. Small and apparently unimportant as were the Grisons and their dependencies, yet the situation of affairs in Europe about the year 1540 rendered this little territory the scene of long and bloody contention between the most powerful potentates of the age. The Valteline, a province subject to the republick of the Grisons, was so situated in relation to the territories of Austria and of Venice, that it became the policy of each of these states to obtain an influence in the councils of its government. The Grisons were already torn by contending factions within itself; each of which pleaded religion as their ostensible motives, while private interests in fact regulated all their movements.

It was about the year 1603 that the count de Fuentes, at that time Spanish governor of Milan, under the instructions of his ministers, used every method of estranging the Grisons from their state of amity with France and Venice. Among other measures, he erected a strong fort on the confines of the Valteline, and called it by his own name. On the other hand, the Venetian and French agents not only laboured to defeat this project of the Spaniard, but used all means of persuasion to procure an alliance with the leagues. This event gave rise to two relentless parties, which, under the names of the Spanish and the Venetian factions, became the cause of a long chain of miseries which afflicted this devoted country.

In the first instance the Spanish faction prevailed, and the Venetian envoy was ordered to quit the country: the most summary proceedings were instituted against several individuals, and even communities, who had been open in their

attachment to the Venetian interest. A powerful opposition however arising, the leaders of the Spanish faction found it expedient to quit the country. In 1618 the governor of Milan, in consequence of this turn of affairs, broke off all intercourse with the leagues, and by the distresses occasioned by this conduct, added to the existing animosities, which soon broke out against all who avowed or favoured the Spanish cause. A criminal court was instituted at Coire, which after declaring a general toleration of religion, sent several catholicks to the scaffold. The bishop of Coire himself became obnoxious to this tribunal: he was deposed and banished; his property confiscated; and it was ordered that if ever he returned to the territories of the republick, he should, without further trial, be publicly beheaded. The city of Coire having shown a predilection for the Spanish party was amerced in a considerable sum. The heads of the Venetian party sent deputies to the king of France and to the cantons to justify their proceedings; and received from the former the most positive assurances of his favour and protection. The exiles on the other hand appeared before the general diet of the Helvetick confederacy, and complained of the proceedings of the Venetian party, and implored the interposition of the diet. Their antagonists were here confronted with them; and after a patient hearing and a long discussion, it was determined to send a deputation to the leagues to exhort them to dissolve the criminal court, to revise its sentences, and for this purpose to grant safe-conduct to the exiles, that they might appear in their own defence. The catholick cantons even declared, that unless the sanguinary tribunal were immediately abolished, they would

adopt compulsive measures. This peremptory requisition was actually complied with towards the end of the year, but tranquillity was far from being restored.

A. D. 1619. In the beginning of this year the rage of party distinguished itself with more rage than ever. The Spanish faction now assumed the ascendancy, and retaliated upon their adversaries the cruelty which had been practised upon them. New victims of popular fury were selected; a loose was given to the savage passions of the populace; and general dismay and consternation spread itself among the inhabitants. A third or neutral party now arose, whose object was to bring about a mutual amnesty upon condition that none of the Planta family which headed the Spanish faction, nor of the Salis family which was the chief of the other party, should, during a certain period, hold any publick office; that no foreign pensions should be received by individuals; and that no foreign minister should be suffered to reside in the country. This proposal was adopted; and served to counterbalance, but by no means to allay, the violence of the two contending parties. The Salis or Venetian faction raised a criminal tribunal at Davos, in the league of the Ten Jurisdictions; which in its turn proceeded with excessive rigour to inflict tortures, fines, and capital punishments, upon the friends, relations, and dependants, of the Plantas.

Meanwhile the rage of bigotry burst out with unexampled fury in the subject province of the Valteline. After repeated murmurs, and various attempts to exclude the protestants from the province, on the 19th of July, in the year 1620, the alarm-bells tolled early in the morning throughout the valley; and a massacre instantly began,

the particulars of which have filled all Europe with horror. Several of the magistrates and their deputies, with numbers of the protestant clergy, were butchered with the most remorseless cruelty. Sixty persons were murdered at Tirano: at Teglio the assassins, after putting to death a minister in the pulpit and a great part of his congregation, demolished the church: at Sondrio they stormed the palace in which the governor resided, and dragged him and his family into Engadine, saying they would no longer submit to the sway of hereticks: and the houses of all the protestants were pillaged and demolished. The peasants, in hopes of exempting themselves from future payment of their dues, were particularly hostile to their lords, landlords, and creditors; they pursued with cruelty the unhappy fugitives, who sought refuge in the mountains, woods, and remote caverns; they hurled many of them, with their wives and innocent children, down steep precipices, or cast them into rivers and torrents; many perished by the hands of their brothers, who coveted their property. The horrors of this and many subsequent days of havock and dismay are too shocking for narration. The duke of Feria, a governor of Milan, never cleared himself from the imputation of having abetted this most dreadful conspiracy.

The evils of civil discord having about this time arrived at a pitch in the Valteline that seemed no longer supportable, a diet which met at Coire applied to most of the neighbouring states to lend their aid towards quelling the fatal disturbances: but Austria, the Catholick cantons, and even France, were deaf to their entreaties; and when Berne and Zuric at length resolved to

send two regiments to assist in restoring the tranquillity of the leagues, the catholick confederates used violent means to impede the march of these auxiliaries. In this, however, they did not succeed, these forces having taken a circuitous route through the province of Tockenburgh. On the 22d of August the regiments entered the Valteline, and the insurgents immediately dispersed; even the Spaniards, after various obstinate conflicts, evacuated the valley.

At length, through the mediation of France, a treaty was concluded at Madrid, on the 25th of April, 1621, according to which the Grison leagues were to be reinstated in the Valteline. None of the parties, however, considered themselves bound by this treaty, and fresh troubles commenced.

The deplorable state of this distracted people was at length taken into serious consideration at a general diet of the Swiss cantons. On this occasion the deputy of Zuric delivered a speech highly worthy of being recorded. "The Rhætian leagues," said he, "are a mirror for us all. In vain are their inlets almost impervious, and their rocks tower far above the clouds; in vain are their men endowed with heroick valour; and in vain do they confide in the sacred ties which unite them to powerful neighbours. None of these advantages will avail them, if domestick strife rends their very vitals. We have taught various mighty nations how difficult it is to subdue men who are determined to be free, and firmly resolved to defend, to the last drop of blood, themselves, their property, and independence: but should we abandon our Rhætian allies, we shall teach those very nations, that by sowing dissen-

tions among us, they may not only vanquish these leagues, but, without any extraordinary efforts, subvert even the confederacy to which we owe our welfare and security. Can we without serious apprehensions, behold the further aggrandizement of the enormous power of Austria, which already, by its possession of the Tyrol, the hither Austria, Burgundy, and Milan, hems us in on every side? Unanimity, believe me, my friends, perfect unanimity, is our only rock of security; and with it we shall at all times be greatly formidable, if not invincible." This language produced conviction; and the diet unanimously agreed to send deputies to the archduke of Austria and the duke of Feria, to request a cessation of hostilities, and a free intercourse with the respective territories of the contending parties. The intercession was not wholly rejected; but it was not immediately productive of the desired effect.

On the 16th of January the Grisons were compelled to subscribe at Milan, three conventions highly prejudicial to their interests. According to these, the papal hierarchy was to be restored in its full splendour; the Spaniards were at all times to be allowed a free passage through the Grison country; protestants were, in less than six months, to dispose of all their property in the Valteline, and to quit the valley, and to submit to other humiliating conditions. A. D. 1622.

The protestants in the Grisons were now oppressed with more than usual rigour; and received such insults and ill-treatments from the Austrian troops dispersed through their valleys, that at length the inhabitants of the Pretti-

gau rose against their tyrants, and expelled them. The Austrian general collected some forces and returned into the valley, but was immediately repulsed; the conquerors, having taken Mayenfield on the first of June, advanced before Coire. The heads of the leagues now met at Coire, and on the 27th of June declared a general amnesty, and solemnly repealed the treaties of Milan.

A new inroad was attempted on the side of Engadine, and the Austrians once more penetrated into the Prettigau. The distresses of the wretched people of the leagues had now arrived at a degree that baffles all description. The winter was approaching, and most of their habitations lay in ruins; their cattle had been carried off, and their provisions had been consumed by rapacious hosts that had at different times overrun their country; the flower of their youth had fallen in the many bloody conflicts which they had sustained; the horrors of war were succeeded by famine, and famine by a train of diseases; and in the midst of these accumulated calamities, they were incessantly harassed by the cruelties and barbarities of the Austrian soldiery, by whom they were still surrounded.

A. D. 1624. The king of France at length turned an eye of compassion upon this hapless people, and resolved, in conjunction with Savoy and Venice, to effectuate the deliverance and restoration of their old ally. This, however, could not be effected by mediation; and Spain in conjunction with the Pope on one hand, and France united to Savoy and Venice on the other, were now renewing their hostile preparations, which threatened the utter destruction of this already exhausted country, when, on the 5th of

March, France and Spain concluded a A. D.
treaty of peace at Mencon in Arragon, 1526.
the conditions of which, as far as they
related to the Grisons, were indeed favourable in
appearance, but, in fact, by no means advan-
tageous. The three subject provinces were no-
minally restored to the leagues; but the powers
of the government, especially in religious mat-
ters, were so circumscribed, that total alienation
would have been far preferable to such nugatory
sovereignty. In the mean time the fortresses in
the three subject provinces were dismantled, the
foreign troops evacuated the country, the people
reluctantly submitted to the dependence to which
they had been doomed by the contracting powers.
None but the Catholick religion was to be tolerated,
and the people were to choose their own magis-
trates. In consequence the people of the Valteline
chose a council of Regency, consisting chiefly of
the authors of the rebellion, at the head of which
they placed Robustell, the principal ringleader.
Thus, after many years of incessant alarms, blood-
shed, devastation, and distressses of every de-
scription, this unhappy country was once more
restored to a temporary tranquillity, and a qualifi-
ed independence.

In this year the Swiss cantons, prudently A. D.
anticipating the probable consequences to 1640.
themselves of that unhappy war which
during thirty years raged over all Europe, resolv-
ed to raise a sufficient force to secure the inlets
to their own country. In order to defray the
expenses of this armament, a tax of one thou-
sandth part upon the capital of every individual
was adopted. Some partial insurrections of the
ignorant or jealous peasantry were the result of

this new taxation, which, however, the prompt energy of the government, combined with a wise moderation, soon suppressed; and two of the most guilty of the ringleaders were punished with death, while rewards were bestowed upon those who had remained loyal in the midst of insurrection. Meanwhile the Swedish general Wrangle had actually penetrated to the borders of the lake of Constance, and by possessing himself of the town and castle of Bregenz, had obtained the command of the passes into the Tyrol, the Swiss Grisons, and even into Italy. At the same time, the French under marshal Turenne, co-operating with the Swedes, covered a large portion of the northern frontiers of Helvetia, and were not always restrained by the neutrality of the Swiss. On the other hand, the archduke of Austria demanded of the confederates a supply of troops for the defence of his territories, in virtue of the hereditary union. This demand, at such a crisis of their affairs, the Swiss did not comply with; and all that the archduke could obtain from them was a free passage for his soldiers through the Grison country. The Italian frontiers of Switzerland were at the same time exposed to the hostile attacks of the Spanish governor of Milan, who, in order to guard against any sudden attack on the side of the Rhætian Alps, had collected a considerable force, and secured all the posts and garrisons to the furthest extremity of the lake of Como. Thus surrounded on all sides by contending armies, the Swiss waved all private feuds and animosities, and sent deputies to a diet, which first assembld at Zuric, and after removed to the town of Wyl in Thurgau in order to be nearer to the scene of action. This diet

sent a deputation to general Wrangle, to remind him of the friendship subsisting between the two nations, and to remonstrate against his further approach towards their frontiers. The Swede returned a courteous answer, and soon after led his forces into Franconia; and the French about the same time withdrew into the dutchy of Wertemburg. The belligerent powers, being at length weary of war, listened to offers of accommodation, and sent plenipotentiaries to a congress, which assembled in the Westphalian cities of Munster and Osnabruck. The confederate cantons, though not immediately implicated in the war, resolved, nevertheless, to avail themselves of the opportunity which the assembly of this congress afforded them, of establishing a right which had long been an object of contention between them and the empire. Some of the cantons, and particularly Basle, had often complained that their inhabitants had been summoned before the imperial chamber of Spire, which assumed a jurisdiction the Swiss had never acknowledged, and against which they had repeatedly remonstrated with the emperor. This and some other points of supremacy which the cantons thought they had a right to assert, induced them to name a representative to the congress, in order to have their absolute independence authenticated by the general recognition of the principal powers of Europe. Their choice for this important mission fell upon John Rudolph Wetstein, burgomaster of Basle, who in every respect proved himself worthy of the confidence that was reposed in him. He found great reluctance on the part of the imperialists; but the French and Swedish plenipotentiaries seeming inclined to favour the

claims of Switzerland, the court of Vienna, unwilling to sacrifice the sole merit of gratifying the Swiss nation to those two powers, gradually acquiesced in their demands; and the confederacy was acknowledged in the sixth article of the treaty of Westphalia, as a state wholly independent of the empire, and consequently of every power or jurisdiction upon earth.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Insurrection of the Peasantry in 1652, *to the Treaty of Baden in* 1718.

ONE of the most remarkable epochs in the history of Switzerland is the insurrection of the peasantry about the middle of the seventeenth century.

During the long and destructive war which was terminated by the treaty of Westphalia, the princes of the empire had been induced to raise their larger coins to nearly twice the nominal value of their intrinsick worth; and, in consequence of this proceeding, some of the Swiss cantons found it expedient to reduce the standard weight of some of their fractional coins nearly one-half. After the conclusion of the war, the currency having been restored to its original value, the cantons of course ordered their light money to be reduced from its nominal to its actual value: at the same time, however, providing against the inconveniences of a sudden change by a decree, that all rents, dues, and taxes, should continue to be received at the raised valuation. This regulation, though as equitable as circumstances permitted, was nevertheless troublesome in its operation, and to the uninformed peasantry it appeared as an act of injustice originating in the magistracy.

About the same period the magistrates, in order to prevent the frequent scarcity of salt, and the

mischiefs resulting from an occasional want of it, took the supply of this necessary, and of the article of gunpowder, into their own exclusive hands, and thus became monopolizers of the two branches of trade. The country-people murmured greatly at this encroachment upon their rights; and a new duty imposed upon the exportation of cattle, and an excise upon wine, became at the same time additional causes of complaint. The principal cause of disaffection among the peasants, however, was the conduct of several of the bailiffs. These persons being at this time elected by the votes of some of the principal officers of the state, often obtained their employment by corrupt means, and sometimes became obnoxious to the people by their extortions and injustice. The feelings of indignation and resentment which the mal-administration of these governors excited, the magisterial monopoly and the excise laws no doubt aggravated; and when once the spirit of disaffection is fomented, there is always to be found a number of lesser or even of imaginary evils to increase the agitation and still further to stimulate the fury of the populace.

The first publick marks of disaffection were exhibited by the peasants of Lucerne in the year 1652. The district of Entilbach sent deputies to the capital, to demand that the coin should be continued at its highest nominal value, or that they should be allowed to pay their rents and publick contributions in kind. They were referred by the senate to a committee, whose conduct was so unbecomingly imperious, that the deputies quitted them with disgust, and filled the whole country with their clamours and discontent. Early in 1653, three collectors were sent to a village in

the same district, to demand the payment of some dues. The peasants instantly seized them, bound and gagged them, and led them publicly out of the village amidst the general tumult of the inhabitants, who declared, that if ever they or any other collectors should return, they would be much more severely treated. The senate, taking alarm, sent their avoyer with a number of ecclesiastical and other deputies to quell the disturbances. These persons were received by the elders of the district with great solemnity; but the people, seizing the first moment of the absence of their elders, armed themselves with clubs, and threatened the deputies with acts of violence. On the following morning the insurgents were again in arms; they hung out a white flag, and collected great numbers from all the neighbouring villages: they paraded about fourteen hundred in number, before the house where the deputies resided, and, without showing them the least mark of respect, repaired to the church, whither they summoned the deputies to attend them. In the most peremptory language they demanded redress concerning the coin, a repeal of several duties, and an abrogation of the fines imposed upon them by the extortionate bailiffs. The deputies remonstrated that they were not authorized to make these concessions, and referred them to the supreme legislature: the peasants persisted in their demands, and intimated that their neighbours of Berne were ready to join in the common cause. The Catholick cantons, with a view to restore tranquillity, sent a formal deputation to Lucerne, which called upon the insurgents to lay their grievances in temperate and respectful language before their own superiors, or before them themselves, should they be accepted as arbiters. The

peasants drew up twenty-seven articles, which the deputies presented to the senate, who authorized them to accede to some, but positively rejected the greater number. The peasants, upon receiving this answer, seized and confined the deputies, took possession of the principal posts in the country, cut off all communication with the city, and threatened to commit the utmost violence. The magistrates immediately had recourse to the remedy provided by the constitution: they sent their requisition to Zuric, whereby they officially summoned all the cantons; and auxiliaries soon collected from various quarters in and round Lucerne. The insurgents, being apprised of the vigorous measures that had been taken, liberated the deputies, and requested them to offer terms of accommodation. They accordingly interceded, and obtained for the deluded people some moderate conditions, which were ratified on the 13th of March, and restored a temporary tranquillity to the disordered state.

The spirit of insurrection which was thus for a time suppressed in Lucerne, spread rapidly among the peasants of Emmenthal, and other parts of the territories of Berne; who, when called upon according to the constitution to march against Lucerne, refused on various pretences to obey the summons. While Zuric was devising means to bring about a compromise, Schaffhausen, Basle, and Mulhausen, fomented the discontents by sending considerable bodies of troops to Bruck and Arau, and urging the necessity of speedy coercion. The peasants spread the alarm through the country, came in force towards Arau, and exclaimed loudly against the intervention of foreign troops. The burghers of the towns upon

the banks of the Aar having engaged to defend their own walls, the auxiliaries withdrew. Having thus far accomplished their point, the insurgents acquired more boldness, and roamed throughout the country in wild disorder. They formed an assembly at Langenthal, which sent deputies to Berne to propose terms. This conference, however, and many subsequent ones, proved ineffectual, on account of the increasing arrogance of the insurgents. Their leaders applied to France for aid, and proposed an alliance; but the French ambassador rejected the offer with disdain, and promised to co-operate earnestly with the magistrates against their seditious subjects. An accommodation soon afterwards took place through the interposition of the protestant cantons. Scarcely however had it been concluded, when the peasants of Lucerne renewed the rebellion, and stigmatized with a charge of meanness and cowardice the Berne peasants, for their submission to the deputies of the Protestant cantons. They were immediately joined by the peasants of Berne; and multitudes from various districts of Lucerne, Basle, and Soleure, which were now in a state of open rebellion, added to their numbers. They assembled on the 13th of April at Sumiswald, in the Emmenthal, where they chose for their leader Nicholas Leunberger, a peasant of Schoenholz, in the parish of Ruderswyl, and settled several points, which, considering the nature of the meeting, had more moderation in them than could have been expected. They held a second meeting on the 13th of April, at Hutwyl, and summoned all the subjects of the confederate states to join in the common cause. They then proceeded to station guards, to break

open letters, to detain messengers, and to seize all the burghers of Berne that came within their reach. They drove one of the bailiffs from his residence; at Wangen they insulted and mangled all those who refused to join them; advancing up the Aar, they spread consternation to the very gates of Berne, which however the magistrates never ordered to be shut, still admitting free passage to the insurgents as well as to their loyal citizens. Another meeting was held at Hutwyl, on the 4th of May, which called upon the magistrates of Berne to send a deputation; charging them to select for this purpose men of conciliating dispositions, and naming those that would be most acceptable. The magistrates of Berne were at the same time so desirous to restore tranquillity, that they readily agreed to treat with the insurgents; and, in compliance with the requisition of the meeting at Hutwyl, sent six members of their great council, and two ecclesiasticks, to confer with Leunberger and his associates. The negociation at first bore a favourable aspect; both parties seemed inclined to make reasonable concessions; but the insurgents being apprised of large reinforcements that were approaching from different parts of the four seditious cantons, the leaders assumed an overbearing spirit, kept the deputies waiting five hours in an outward room, while they renewed their compact with the heads of the collecting bands, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths, to take exemplary vengeance on all who should dare to violate the union. The deputies, finding their endeavours to calm the tumultuous assembly ineffectual, withdrew; but sent immediately to propose another meeting at Lagenthal. Leunberger accepted the offer;

but, among other scornful intimations, he admonished them in his answer, by all means to use obsequious language, lest they should irritate the people, and insisted that the meeting should be held in the open air. The conferences were accordingly opened on the 6th of May, but proved equally abortive; the deputies of Berne declining to treat with any but their own subjects, which the heads of the insurgents, considering the exception as an attempt to estrange them from each other, rejected with indignation. On the following day the Bernese deputies appeared once more among the insurgents, and read to them a written declaration, of the ample concession which the government was willing to make, amounting nearly to the whole of their demands; but the more one side receded, the higher became the pretensions of the other; the deputies, at length perceiving that the rebels were determined to prescribe unlimited conditions, returned to Berne.

On the 10th of May, the sovereign council invested Sigismund d'Erlach with the chief command of the forces of the republick. The troops dispersed in the Pays de Vaud, and on the lakes of Neufchatel and Bienne, were ordered to assemble and approach the city; and the neighbouring cantons were called upon for speedy succour. On the 11th of May, the rebels seized on the important pass of Gumminen: some besieged the town of Arberg, others occupied the strong post at Windirh, while numbers, being joined by the people of the free bailliages, entered the town of Mellingen on the Reuss. In order to preserve a free communication with the insurgents of Basle, they endeavoured to obtain possession of the towns of Bruck, Arau, and Zoffingen: but in these

attempts they were not successful. A body so numerous, undisciplined, acting without concert, and without experienced leaders, soon felt a want of effective energy in its operations. When the force which the senate had ordered to approach from Neuville came to the gates of Arberg, it found the place evacuated, and no enemy in the vicinity. The peasants of Lucerne, who were among the most daring of the insurgents, attempted their capital; but the auxiliaries which had been called in from the forest cantons prevented the success of their attempts. Leunberger, the chief of the rebels, had fixed his head-quarters at Oster-Mundingen, a village a few miles from Berne. Parties from his force committed all sorts of depredations in the circumjacent country, until at length the Bernese opposed the predatory excursions of this licentious multitude by a large body of troops, and the appearance of some heavy artillery. Leunberger was intimidated, and demanded a parley, which was granted; terms were proposed and acceded to; and the very next day after signing the articles, the rebels broke them by fresh hostilities. The magistrates became at length weary of the treachery of the insurgents, and determined to listen to no terms short of absolute submission.

By this time an ample force had assembled near Zuric, consisting of five thousand men from the catholick and eight thousand men from the other cantons: the former were headed by general Zweyer, of Uri, a man of tried abilities both in the field and the cabinet; and the latter were under the orders of general Werdmaller of Zuric, who took the command of the whole army. On the 21st of May, Werdmaller advanced before

Mellingen, and the insurgents immediately fled towards Lenezburg; they tolled all the alarm-bells, and sent a dispatch to Berne, complaining that the government had not kept their faith with them, and denouncing the vengeance of God on such perfidy.

On the 23d Werdmaller advanced some parties towards the posts of the insurgents, who, no knowing how to repel them, immediately demanded to treat. On the following day, however, being joined by such numbers as increased their army to twenty thousand men, they rejected all conference and immediately attacked the town of Zoffingen, in the hope of cutting off all communication between the Upper and the Lower Argau. In this attempt they failed, as well as in a succeeding one upon Mellingen, being repulsed by the heavy fire from the artillery of the confederates. After these disasters, Leunberger again offered to treat: but the council of war answered, that it was not for rebels to exact conditions; that they must all without delay return to their homes, and leave the adjustment of their differences and the punishment of the ringleaders to the discretion of the magistrates. The deputies of the rebels ostensibly submitted to these terms, and agreed that the insurgents should lay down their arms.

Meanwhile the troops of Berne had encamped at Wangen; and Leunberger, anxious to extricate himself from the danger which surrounded him, implored the mercy of Berne, and proposed to the council of war at Mullingen, upon condition of a general amnesty, to abstain from further hostilities and to disband his forces. The magistrates of Berne would listen to no com-

promise, and Erlach advanced to Langenthal, and drove the insurgents before him to the village of Herzogenbuchs. Here they made a stand; and here was fought that battle that terminated the disturbances which at one time had threatened the total overthrow of the Helvetick confederacy. Erlach approached the body of rebels in three columns; each of which met with the fiercest opposition from the insurgents, who fought with the utmost bravery. Being at length driven towards the church, they availed themselves of a strong wall that surrounded the burying-ground, and made a desperate stand: being however at length overpowered by numbers, they retreated into the woods, having first set fire to the village. Sixty of them were taken prisoners, and condemned to death by the council of war: others were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. Seven of the chiefs, men of venerable aspect, with hoary heads and spreading beards, were conducted to Basle, and there publicly beheaded. Leunberger after his defeat had returned to his home, where he hoped to lie concealed; but he was betrayed and seized in the night by the bailiff, who sent him with various papers found in his house to the prison at Berne. He persevered long in an obstinate defiance of the magistrates; but being put to the torture, he at length disclosed the names of the principals in the rebellion, and avowed the designs of the revolt. He was beheaded, and his head, together with the written document of the conspiracy, were nailed to the gallows, and his limbs were exposed on the highways. The peasant who had officiated as his secretary was likewise beheaded, and another of the leaders was hanged. The rebels of Lucerne, among

whom were some of the burghers, were, at the intercession of the four neighbouring cantons, admitted to a lenient compromise. Those of Entilbuch alone persisted in obstinate contumacy, until they were compelled by force to accept of terms less favourable indeed than they might have earlier obtained, but far from rigorous. Many of the insurgents had fled out of the country, and about forty of them were seen near Frankfort, who declared, that they were going to solicit the duke of Lorraine to invade Switzerland, and avenge their cause. The emperor, however, published a manifesto, by which he banished from his dominions and dependencies those insurgents who might have taken refuge there; a measure of infinite importance, as it prevented several states from interfering in these troubles, who might have considered it to be their interest to foment them.

While these events were passing in the bosom of their own country, the protestant cantons were anxiously fixing their attention upon the progress of the reformation in Europe, and by every means in their power removing the obstacles that opposed it. For this purpose they even sent a delegate, the celebrated John Jacob Stocken, to England and to Holland, to heal the differences that then subsisted between these two protestant countries, which the Swiss wished to see united in politicks as in religion.

The Swiss Protestants also interfered in the behalf of a society of the reformed religion in the Vaudois, who underwent the most cruel persecutions. A. D. 1655.

As long as the county of Burgundy remained in the possession of the Spanish monarchy, the

Swiss felt little apprehension concerning the safety of their western frontier; and, confiding in the natural strength of their other boundaries, had not yet established any general rules for the defence of their country against invasion. The seizure of that province by Louis the Fourteenth, although it was soon after restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, first roused their apprehensions, and induced them to consider of some regulations for combining their forces in case of an attack from foreign powers. At a general diet held at Baden, a regulation was accordingly agreed to, which, under the name of the Defensional, has to our days been considered as the military code for the protection of Switzerland. By this code the quota of men to be furnished by each canton and its dependencies was settled; stations were assigned for the rendezvous of the troops; the number and appointment of officers were provided for; articles of war were framed; and ample powers were vested in a council of war for speedy and vigorous exertions. At a subsequent diet, provision was made for the fortifying of passes and frontier towns, and for the supply of stores and ammunition; and a fund was established to be resorted to on cases of emergency.

A. D. 1668.

A. D. 1673.

In the year 1675 the protestant clergy, among whom John Henry Heiddegger took the lead, after much correspondence and many conferences, at length framed a religious code, consisting of twenty-five articles, which, under the name of the Formula Consensus, was confirmed by a synod at Zuric, and soon after adopted by the other protestant cantons and their dependencies.

The cruelties practised by the Roman catho-

licks upon the Protestants, under the sanction of Louis the Fourteenth, are monuments of infamy to the memory of that bigoted libertine. About the year 1682, the Hugonots, who had for nearly a century, under the sanction of two solemn edicts, enjoyed a toleration equally beneficial to themselves and to their country, were compelled by his persecution to forsake their home, their relations, families, and country, and seek a refuge among strangers. Many of these miserable fugitives sought shelter in England and Holland; but the greater number naturally fled to those Protestant territories of Switzerland, whither a similarity of language and manners, besides their vicinity, invited them. The hospitable reception which these victims of bigotry met with among the Swiss, will ever remain recorded on the page of history among the noblest of their actions; and will reflect a glory on their annals far more pure and not less brilliant than their most valiant achievements in the field. At two diets of the protestant cantons, held at Arau in the month of October, measures were taken for the relief of the unhappy Hugonots. Some thousands were dispersed throughout the towns and villages, principally in the Pays de Vaud, and supplied with food and raiment, and all other necessaries. A. D. 1682.

On a publick fast-day which was ordered on the occasion, large sums were collected, not only for the purpose of supplying the wants of the destitute refugees, but, should occasion offer, for affording assistance to such of their still more unhappy brethren as had not been able to fly from persecution. These cantons also sent strong admonitions to the electors of Saxony and Branden-

burg, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other German princes, in whose territories these unfortunate people were immediately permitted to seek an asylum, and who received the benefits adequate to their wants and sufferings.

A. D. 1686. In the month of January, the king of France, not satisfied with exterminating the Protestants in his dominions, prevailed upon the duke of Savoy to renew the persecution of them in the valleys of Piedmont. They were driven without mercy from his dominions. Here again the benevolent natives of the Swiss Protestants shone forth. At the diet of Arau, held in December of that year, they agreed to a regulation for distributing these exiles in different parts of their territory: and being themselves unable to provide for the whole influx, they negociated with various German states, and with the States-general, for adequate settlements for the numbers they could not retain; and received great encouragement from the elector of Brandenburgh, who offered considerable tracts of land for colonies, and ample provision for their establishment. The Vaudois, on the other hand, were greatly reluctant to remove to a region so remote and inclement, especially after having experienced the hospitality and genial temperature of the Helvetian dales. Many, rather than accept these offers, made fruitless efforts to obtain by force of arms a settlement in their own soil again, but were driven back upon the frontiers of Switzerland. These felt the extreme of misery, having for a time been reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon the wild produce of the field, and half-naked to seek shelter in the woods and caverns. The diet at Arau, seeing no other alternative

but either to admit them once more or to abandon them to certain perdition, preferred the former, on a positive promise from the head of each family that early in the next spring they would seek an asylum elsewhere. Notwithstanding these promises, the cantons were for several years, at intervals, obliged to afford these persecuted sufferers an aslyum, at an expense of which some conjecture may be formed from the publick accounts of the city of Zuric, from which it appears, that above four hundred thousand florins had been supplied by this single state from the publick funds, besides the private contribution, of which no estimate can be made.

It was in the year 1702 that the inhabitants of the valley of Tockenburgh, after a series of disputes and ineffectual remonstrances with their abbot, appealed to the cantons of Schweitz and Glaris for redress, laying before them a statement of their grievances and ample evidence of the truth of their allegations. After some hesitation on the part of Schweitz, they at length came to the determination of affording a relief to the oppressed; and for this purpose to call upon all the parties to renew their ancient compacts, and thereby to restore all former privileges, and remove every cause of future complaint. The abbot, Leodigar Burgisser of Lucerne, not only rejected the offer, but when the deputies of the cantons came to the valleys of Tockenburg to attend the solemnity, they were impeded by his officers, and every obstacle was raised against the intended pacification. Finding that the two cantons would not desist from their purpose, he made an appeal to the Helvetick law of arbitration; and not meeting in this expedient the success he

expected, he forfeited his allegiance to the confederacy by entering into a defensive treaty with the emperor Leopold I. as archduke of Austria, in which he claimed the right of calling foreign troops into the country. The contest now involved many parties, who all became equally violent and tenacious. England, Holland, Prussia, Hanover, and Hesse, tendered their friendly offices towards allaying the storm; and above all things reprobated the armed interference of Austria in the affairs of the confederacy. The stubborn inveteracy of the parties, however, rendered nugatory all the benevolent attempts that were made to prevent hostilities; which in 1709 actually commenced. Berne and Zuric, who were by many previous compacts, and now by the express requisition of the Protestants of Tockenburg, called upon to interpose in this contest, seeing that an appeal to the sword would be inevitable, made serious preparations for war. Lucerne, Zug, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, who had an equal right to interfere, declared their intention to support the Catholicks, and likewise prepared their forces for hostilities. John Ulrick Nabholz, a citizen of Zuric, was placed at the head of some forces; and aided by Poesh and Rudlinger, two Protestants of the Vallais, took possession of the monasteries of St. John and Magdenau, which by their situation commanded a great part of the country; they likewise secured many passes and strong holds, broke down the bridges, and in a short time became masters of the whole valley. The catholick cantons, on the other hand, sent forces to occupy the town of Baden, Bremgenten, and the whole of the free bailliages, with a view to prevent the junction of the troops of Berne and Zuric; and thus were

the horrors of civil war at once spread through the country. The abbot also collected all the forces he could command in his peculiar territory and dependencies; and, taking with him all the valuable effects of the abbey, resorted for refuge to the town of Wyl. On the sixteenth of May the troops of Berne and Zuric advanced there, with a view to attack it, and on the 22d found it evacuated. Having stationed a thousand men in the town, they advanced toward St. Gall, reduced the abbey and its territory, and penetrated as far as Roshach on the lake of Constance, where they likewise established a garrison. The two cantons next directed their forces against the invaders of Baden and the free bailliages; and after successive days of victories, compelled the forces of the five catholick cantons commanded by Crivelli of Uri to surrender at discretion in the castle of Baden. The military were suffered to withdraw while all the burghers and people of the district were disarmed.

In the mean time the emperor held a diet at Ratisbon, and obtained a decree censuring the conduct of the two protestant cantons and authorizing him to reinstate the abbot in his dominions. The cantons appealed in reply to the treaty of Westphalia as the guarantee of the absolute independence of every member of the confederacy. Negociation, however, was ineffectual, and the mediation of several foreign powers equally so. Considerable bodies of Imperial and French troops approached the frontiers; the pope and several cardinals supplied money to the catholick confederates, for whose success prayers were publicly offered up at Rome; while England, Holland, Prussia, and other protestant states,

openly avowed their disapprobation of the interference of the empire in the domestick concerns of the confederacy.

During several weeks of tedious negociation, the greatest difficulties arose from the five catholick cantons; nor was it till after the effusion of much more blood that, satiated with disaster, they at length sent deputies to a general diet at Arau. On the third, ninth, and eleventh of August the discussion took place; and it was after much debate resolved and agreed, that the catholick cantons should accede to the treaty of the eighteenth of July, and yield up their co-sovereignty to the joint-bailliages: and that they should not only withhold all further aid from the abbot of St. Gall, but use their best endeavours to incline him to pacifick sentiments. The abbot, however, declined to listen to repeated offers of accommodation, as they were not sanctioned by the emperor; and the cantons, equally resolute in their determination, would not permit the interference of any foreign power. The inhabitants of Tockenburg in the mean time had fallen a prey to insubordination, and threw obstacles in the way of a general pacification by the extravagance of their demands. Notwithstanding all these obstacles a congress was held at Roshach in 1714, where terms were drawn up which seemed admissible to all parties, except the abbot, who still persisted in his appeal to the empire. Two years afterwards another congress met at Baden without effect: and in the fifth year after the peace of Arau, things still continued unsettled, when Berne resolved, without the concurrence of Zuric, where the minds of the people were not so much inclined towards peace, to come to a separate and

final accommodation. The abbot also, perceiving himself feebly supported by the emperor, and being unwilling to encounter any longer the distresses of a tedious exile, lent an ear at length to the proposals that were once more offered him, and matters were drawing to a conclusion, when that prelate, after a long life of trouble and disappointed ambition, ended his days at Ravensburg. He was succeeded by Joseph Rudolphi, who, fortunately for the reduced state of the abbey, was of a pacifick disposition. A congress which had been convened at Baden, proceeded in its deliberation; and at length, notwithstanding some opposition on the part of Zuric, and the remonstrances of the Tockenburghers, the treaty of peace between the abbot, Berne, and Zuric, was finally concluded, and on the fifteenth of June, 1718, publicly ratified by all the parties. Thus terminated the war of Tockenburg, by a treaty which, in conjunction with that of Arau, may be considered as the cement of the Helvetick constitution as it remained for nearly the two following centuries.

CHAP. IX.

General View of the State of Switzerland, previous to the French Revolution.

THE peace of Arau terminated those intestine struggles of the Swiss, which for so long a period rent asunder the bonds of their union.

At that time a full and perfect understanding took place among the cantons, which, during a period of nearly two hundred years, was almost wholly uninterrupted. By the treaty which was then agreed to, no claims were left in doubt, no complaints were adjourned or set aside; but so clear and solid was the basis of their renewed friendship, that their subsequent annals present one uniform picture of unanimity, happiness, and independence, until the recent date of that unprincipled attack upon their territories which has filled Europe with indignation, and fixed a stain upon the arms of France, which all her victories, however splendid, are unable to efface.

Previously to entering upon the detail of this disgraceful transaction, we shall take a brief survey of the state of Switzerland and its government, as it remained with scarcely any alteration during that happy interval.

The name of republick was improperly applied to the government of Switzerland; as that designation implies a fixed form of administration, a concentrated authority, an executive power, and

a publick revenue for the support of the constitution. The Helvetick confederacy possessed not one of all these essentials of a commonwealth. Its origin and progress have been already described; and it must be evident, that it was simply a military association of thirteen states, for the purpose of defending conjointly their several and separate rights and liberties. In all matters that did not affect the compact of this union, every canton was an absolute and independent state, regulating its own concerns by its own laws. Frequent instances have occurred wherein the cantons exercised this right of independence. They often prohibited the current coin of their allies, when of an improper value; they prevented the importation and exportation of merchandize at pleasure: they furnished troops to foreign powers, and contracted any engagements with them that did not militate against the principles of the league.

The only article therefore in the government of Switzerland which can be considered as constitutionally applicable to the whole confederacy, was the plan of national or general defence. By this part of their compact it was arranged, that in case of wars the cantons were to contribute a quota of troops according to their ability; and a comparative estimate may be formed of the different cantons, from the following statement:—

1. Zuric . . .	1400
2. Berne . . .	2000
3. Lucerne . . .	1200
4. Uri . . .	400
5. Schweitz . . .	600
6. Underwalden . .	400
7. Zug . . .	400

8. Glaris	400
9. Basle	400
10. Fribourg	800
11. Soleure	600
12. Schaffhausen	400
13. Appenzel	600
The three allies	1400
viz. Abbey of St. Gall	1000
City of St. Gall	200
Bienne	200
The subject provinces	2400

The order or rank among the cantons as above laid down, and which has been regularly observed in all their publick acts, as well as in the assemblies of the deputies, was sanctioned more by custom than by any positive decree enacted for that purpose. The annual custom of the meeting of deputies from the different cantons in order to adjust and settle the concerns of each state, occasioned the assembly of the general diets at the same place and at the same period of the year. Formerly the place of meeting was Baden; but after the treaty of peace in 1712, the little town of Frauenfield was fixed upon for that purpose. There were also particular diets: as those of the eight ancient cantons; those of the protestant cantons, with the deputies of Glaris and Appenzel; of the towns of St. Gallen, Bienne, and Mulhausen, called the Evangelical Conferences; those of the Roman-catholick cantons, with the deputies of the Catholicks of Glaris and Appenzel; and of the abbot of St. Gall, and of the republick of the Vallais. The places of meeting for these diets were different, according to the treaties of alliance with the confederate states who appointed them. The general diet was held once a-

year, and continued sitting one month; the other diets met only upon particular occasions.

The chief intention of the Helvetick confederacy being a junction of their military strength to oppose the standing armies of their neighbours which might be brought into the field against them, it was necessary for this purpose to keep a force equally ready to take the field, well armed and disciplined. As, however, the measure of a standing army is repugnant to the spirit of a free people, the Swiss had recourse to a scheme which formed a regular army without endangering their liberties. Their youth were diligently trained to arms; the whole people were enrolled and regularly exercised; and a large body of well-disciplined troops were constantly employed in the service of foreign powers, from whence they could at the shortest notice be recalled in the hour of danger.

Respecting the policy of engaging their soldiers in foreign service, much discussion has taken place. It has been contended on one hand, that, independently of the advantage of having a body of forces well disciplined which could be recalled at a moment's notice, it kept up the military spirit and national ardour of the people during a state of peace; and it also became the interest of those states who subsidized their forces, not to foment any division among them which might render the presence of these forces necessary at home. On the other hand it has been urged, that this system introduced improper habits among the highest and the lowest orders of the people, rendering them dissatisfied with their situation, at the same time that it drained the towns of their inhabitants.

The canton of Zuric, which is considered the

first in rank of the Helvetick confederacy, is divided into thirty-seven bailliages, nineteen of which are denominated Interior, being in the vicinity of the capital, and the others are called Exterior. They were under the government of bailiffs nominated by the sovereign council, who were divided into three classes: the first class were denominated administrators; they were ten in number, and were intrusted with the collecting of the publick revenue: the second consisted of nineteen members, who were the directors of such publick business as was necessarily transacted in the seat of government: and the third was composed of those bailiffs who resided in the villages and in the fortified towns, and who were appointed to posts of inferior consequence. This class comprised thirteen in number.—The bailiffs were invested with considerable powers: those of Kyburgh and Groningen pass capital sentence and inflict the torture; the others could only arrest and examine delinquents, and punish petty offences by whipping, or banishment from the bailliage. In capital cases they sent the prisoner for trial to Zuric. The canton of Zuric is extremely populous; it was estimated to have contained 174,572 inhabitants in the year 1784, 10,500 of which population belonged to the capital. The government of Zuric was a mixture of the aristocratick and democratick forms. The sovereignty was lodged with the burgesses of the town, who amounted to about two thousand; but a very narrow policy prevailed in the admission of new members into this body, insomuch so, that for the last one hundred and fifty years, that honour has never been bestowed. On the 7th of January, the council resolved to make no more burghers, and resolutely adhered to

A. D. 1661.

their determination. The burghers of Zuric enjoyed the exclusive right of commerce, the election of their magistrates, and the administration of the publick revenue: they were divided into thirteen tribes, one of which was called *Constaffel*, or the tribe of nobles, although latterly it was not confined to persons of that order. This tribe deputed eighteen members to the sovereign council, and six to the senate; whereas each of the others sent only twelve to the former and six to the latter.

The legislative authority was vested in a sovereign council of two hundred; which however, in fact, consisted of two hundred and twelve members, who were drawn from the thirteen tribes, and comprised the senate or little council, which was composed of fifty members. To these were added two burgomasters, who were elected by the burghers, and governed alternately every six months. The senate judged in all cases, civil and criminal: in the former, however, their sentence might be appealed from to the council of Two Hundred; but in the latter their decision was final. A burgher of Zuric was qualified to vote at twenty years of age, he was eligible to a seat in the sovereign council at thirty, and to one in the senate at thirty-five. Their code of criminal law was imperfect if not obsolete, and much power therefore rested in the hands of the magistrates, to whose discretion all juridical proceedings were, in a great degree, necessarily consigned. Their revenues have been calculated not to have exceeded 65,000*l.* per annum, and yet such was the simplicity and economy of their government, that the state was not only without debts, but had actually accumulated a considerable sum

from its annual savings, which was lodged in the publick treasury as a provision against any sudden emergency.

The clergy of the canton were divided into nine deaneries, those of the common bailliages into four chapters; the first consisted of one hundred and fifty ministers, the second of sixty-one. A synod was held at Zuric twice in the year, the president of which was called the Antistes. The education of their youth was made a matter of state, and was placed under the direction of the government. As the head of the thirteen cantons, Zuric always maintained considerable influence in the general diet; and was respected as the most independent and incorrupt of all the confederates.

The canton of Berne is the largest in Switzerland; its government was aristocratick: but the mildness of its administration and the equity of its laws rendered the state more happy and even free than many democracies. The peasantry constituted the greatest part of the community; and they enjoyed the full protection of their government.

The city was at first divided into four abbayes, or tribes, which contained four companies of trade. Each company elected from its own body a banneret as its chief; who together formed the first military officers, and governed the republick. By these were chosen sixteen of the principal burghers, four from each quarter, who assisted at deliberations of importance; and as late as the last century, they with the bannerets retained the right of electing the council of Two Hundred, or Great Council. This council, in which all the other colleges were united under the title of Advoyer, Council, and Burghers of the Town and

Republick of Berne, exercised the sovereign power; and when complete, it consisted of two hundred and ninety-nine members. The executive powers of government were delegated by the sovereign council to the senate, chosen by themselves from their own body: the former assembled ordinarily three times a-week; and the senate every day, Sundays excepted. The senate, comprising the two advoyers or chiefs of the republick, consisted of twenty-seven members; and from this select body the principal magistrates of the state were chosen.

The canton of Berne was divided into a certain number of districts, from which bailiffs were chosen for the sovereign council. Formerly the bailiffs were taken indifferently from the senate or Great Council, and nominated by the bannerets: but this mode of election was altered, and from that time they were chosen by lot. A. D. 1712. The several bailiffs were invested with the right of soverign power in their respective districts. The clergy of Berne of the German district were divided into eight synods as chapters, which assembled separately every year. The Pays de Vaud was divided into five classes. The church benefices throughout the canton were at the disposal of the senate; except those of the capital which were in the gift of the great council, and the private benefices which depended upon the recommendation of the patrons.

The cantons of Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure, differed but little in their government from that of Berne. The numbers of their councils and senates varied, and in some respects they were differently elected; but in all the material principles of their political economy they were similar.

Basle had no nobility. The burghers were incorporated into eighteen tribes; three of which, belonging to Little Basle, were blended into the fifteen of the great towns in the election of senators, but retained their separate votes in the nomination of counsellors. The citizens at large were allowed no share in these elections.

The government of Shaffhausen consisted also of a senate and council who were elected by twelve tribes or abbayes, two burgomasters, a stadtholder, or pro-consul, and two treasurers who were appointed by the council. The governments of the six remaining cantons being entirely democratical, the sovereign authority in all, of course, resided with the people. At Uri the people, amounting to about four thousand, met on stated days, generally once a-year in an open field. At these assemblies, which were called the communities of the country, each male of the age of sixteen had a suffrage. They were opened by solemn prayers and oaths of fidelity and allegiance. Their magistrates were then elected; deputies were named for the general diets or foreign missions, and all business of more than common importance transacted.

The canton of Schweitz comprised six communities, each of which returned ten members to the council of regency. The Street Court was an institution peculiar to this canton. The lieutenant of police, on receiving a complaint, called together seven of the first competent persons he met with in his way, who, having heard both parties, immediately declared their opinion concerning the dispute.

The canton of Underwalden comprised two grand divisions, each consisting of six communi-

ties or parishes.—Zug, the smallest of the cantons, consisting only of five communities, had a more complicated government than any of the democratick states. It had its general assembly held in a publick place at Zug, into which no ecclesiastick was admitted: this exclusion however extended only to the elections of the chief magistrates; all other concerns were debated in the separate communities, and the majority of their divisions was conclusive. The council of regency possessed the executive power.

The canton of Glaris was exactly similar in its civil institutions to the other democratick cantons; but having a mixed religion, its chief magistrates were taken alternately from the Catholicks and the Protestants; the latter however remained three and the former only two years in office. Whenever the landamman was a Catholick, his lieutenant or stadtholder was a Protestant, and if he was a Protestant his deputy was a Catholick. The council of regency consisted of forty-eight protestant and fifteen Catholick members. Each communion had its particular court of justice; and when the parties were of different religions, it was decreed that the assessor, who might have the casting vote, should be of the same religion as the defendant, each religion had also its particular assembly, treasury, and arsenal.

The canton of Appenzel, being likewise of a mixed religion, was separated into distinct districts, each of which had its general assembly, its treasury, and police: but though each sent a deputy to the Helvetick diet, they had together but one vote; unless they agreed in this it was of no avail.

From this view of the Helvetick confederacy,

it will appear, that the most powerful cantons were aristocracies; the smaller ones democracies; and one or two of a mixture of aristocracy and democracy. Yet even in the most tyrannical of them, the happy inhabitants possessed a greater share of real liberty than was ever enjoyed under the government of any republick.

The confederate and associated allies of the cantons possessed in like manner the advantages of freedom and independence. Thus the whole territory of Switzerland, under the protection of the Helvetick league, became, and for ages continued, an industrious, a free, a blameless, and a happy nation. Happy had it been for them, if when attacked by their insidious and artful neighbours the French, the inhabitants of all Helvetia had united, as of old, in repelling the interference and the encroachments of foreign power. Their constitution, so admirably calculated to secure their internal tranquillity, would still more have secured them, if, in addition to the natural strength of their country, they had unanimously joined in calling forth their energies, their bravery, and their zeal; and under one banner had resisted the modern Gauls, with that spirit of enthusiastick valour which defeated the attempts of Austria, of Burgundy, and of their own nobles, to bend the necks of freemen to the yoke of slaves.

CHAP X.

Dissolution of the Helvetick Confederacy; and Conquest of Switzerland by the French.

THE influence of the French revolution was early experienced in the cantons of Switzerland. The cries of liberty and equality were echoed with a martial voice in those sequestered vales which peace, content, and industry, had made their residence for ages. The artless peasantry of these countries were not more easily seduced than they were enthusiastically inflamed, when once the fever of revolt had seized them. At the same time unfortunately the governors of these deluded men were ill adapted to the new and dangerous complexion of the times. The people throughout the country were armed: and what recourse has the magistracy of an armed nation separate from its loyalty and love?—That there existed in Switzerland some grievances which ought to have been redressed, may be safely admitted, without affording to the cause of those traitors who could repose confidence in foreign aid, a shadow of excuse for their perfidious and foolish policy. At Zuric and at Basle, for instance, the citizens engrossed not only all the authority and emoluments of government, but even to a certain degree monopolized the best parts of the profits resulting from the industry of the inhabitants. The inequality which occasion-

ed this, though far from unjust and oppressive in its origin, had grown into an evil which it behoved the wisdom of the higher orders to have corrected before its effects became grievous to the poor and lower classes. The peasantry in the neighbourhood of the lake of Zuric, and in the rural districts of Basle, who were actually galled by this oppression, having once heard the cry of emancipation and equality, stood in little need of French emissaries to urge them to a claim of equal rights: and we find accordingly that a spirit of disaffection was rapidly spreading among them from the dawn of the French revolution. The Pays de Vaud from a variety of causes was in a state of discontent still more dangerous, inasmuch as there the disaffected were of a higher class. These symptoms of rising disaffection might easily have been suppressed by a proper conduct in the magistrates of the different districts where it was evinced. The bulk of the Swiss nation were too conscious of the actual blessings they enjoyed to desire to change them for phantoms of theoretical freedom; and a wise combination of energy and conciliation, by redressing real grievances and silencing seditious and unfounded clamours, would have united all parties in the confederacy.

The unhappy events which followed the opposite line of conduct prove how fatal is a temporizing spirit in a crisis of importance. Yet the same torpid and pusillanimous counsels unfortunately continued to influence the confederacy at large, after repeated insults bestowed upon them by the French. And as the magistrates had been silent observers alike of the wrongs and the crimes of the discontented at home, so the whole Helvetick diet, assembled at Arau, determined

stedfastly to observe a strict neutrality between France and the states with whom she was at war. How feeble was the policy of this decision, events have fully demonstrated.

In the mean time the emissaries of France were opposing to this system of inertion a spirit of the most active intrigue among the disaffected, especially in the Pays de Vaud.

The first explosion was on the second anniversary of the demolition of the Bastile, which Amadeus la Harpe caused to be celebrated with great festivity in many of the Helvetick towns in the lake of Geneva. The supreme council of Berne, being apprised of the commotion which ensued, sent thither a special commission, attended by a force of three thousand men. The commission was opened at Rolle, and was appointed to hear grievances, as well as to punish the insurgents. Whether the people were awed by the presence of the troops, or whether no real cause of complaint existed, it is certain none of the least consequence were exhibited to the commission, who had little else to do than to try the ringleaders, several of whom were punished by confinement, and others in a milder way. La Harpe and several others fled; who, by this step, having incurred the penalties of high treason, were sentenced to suffer death if ever they returned to the territories of the republick.

The rest of Switzerland was as yet in a state of perfect tranquillity, when war having been declared between France and the emperor, one of the first operations of the former was to take possession of the district of Porentrick.

Another French army, under general Montesquiou, soon after took possession of the dutchy of

Savoy. He was ostensibly directed to pay due respect to the neutrality of the Helvetick body, and strictly obeyed his instructions. The Swiss, at the requisition of Geneva, without any view to an infraction of their neutrality, marched sixteen hundred men into that city, consisting of troops from the cantons of Zuric and Berne. The French however viewed this movement in a less impartial light, and ordered their general to advance against these troops with avowed hostile intention: a convention however was signed soon after, by which both Swiss and French were to withdraw within a certain distance of Geneva.

From this period the cantons persisted in their fatal neutrality, notwithstanding overtures from both Sardinia and Austria, soliciting them to join the coalition. They were however obliged to draw the sword, when Austria was compelled to sheath it by a series of disasters.

A. D. 1798. The directory of France had now become daring by the peace which they had dictated to the emperor, and which it is more than probable a timely co-operation of the Swiss might at least have rendered less humiliating. The very moment when the plenipotentiaries of the directory were hastening the dull forms of German diplomacy, by the most solemn assurances that the French government panted for tranquillity, war was suddenly declared against Switzerland, which, after a peace which had lasted for ages, was now doomed to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility.

Towards the latter end of the year 1797 certain menacing demands had been made on the Swiss cantons in general: but the thunder was expected to have spent its rage on Berne; and the

Helvetick diet, chiefly at the instance of that state, immediately determined on a levy of twenty-six thousand men, while the armed force of two cantons was sent into the Pays de Vaud. These troops were confided to the command of colonel de Weiss, who had served in the capacity of a field officer during the French monarchy, and who, by his influence in Switzerland and at Paris, had hitherto been the medium of preventing hostilities.

No sooner did the French government learn that Berne and Fribourg had dispatched a body of soldiers and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud for the purpose of punishing a new insurrection, than a division which had just returned from Italy was put in motion, and general Menard sent an aid-de-camp to the head quarters at Yverden, with an intimation, that the inhabitants of all the bailliages must be permitted to organize a government for themselves, and in case any violence were offered to them, force should be repelled by force. But this officer and all his escort, being mistaken perhaps for an advanced guard, were either killed or wounded; and the minds of both armies became more embittered against each other. The Vaudois in the mean time persevered in their revolutionary intention; and having sent deputies from every district to Lausanne, there, after considerable debate, published a declaration, that they had adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the Republick of Leman. On this the cantons of Basle, Zuric, and Lucerne, wisely determined to yield to necessity; and, perceiving that their subjects were electrified with the successes of the Vaudois, they restored to them

all their rights and franchises, and thus insured the continuance of their fidelity. But the senates of Berne, Fribourg, and Soleure, imagining themselves still able to maintain their ancient tyranny, did not exhibit equal condescension. The first of these, however, had recourse to a weak and temporizing policy; and, while the sovereign council secretly prepared for war, an intimation was given that the government would henceforth exhibit a paternal affection for all its subjects, and, provided the majority of the bailiwicks consented to the recent changes, they should be fully confirmed after the lapse of a year.

The senate also sent an embassy to Paris, with an offer to accommodate all existing disputes in any manner "not inconsistent with the independence of a free people:" but the deputies were ordered to return; and it was intimated as the price of peace, "that the ancient magistrates were to be dismissed; the secret council, and that of the war department, suppressed; and a new constitution, founded on democratical principles, established." On hearing this degrading proposition, the patrician families determined upon resistance; and colonel De Weiss having resigned the command of the troops, an army of twenty-five thousand men was intrusted to the care of the baron D'Erlach D'Hindlebanck who had formerly attained the rank of mareschal-de-camp in the French service, and was now but too eager to decide the fate of his country in a pitched battle.

In the mean time the management of the war being confided by the directory to general Brune, an officer who had distinguished himself in the Italian campaigns, he immediately entered the

territories of Berne, and published a proclamation, containing professions but too little attended to in the sequel.

"Citizens," said he "the French soldiers who penetrate into your valleys are your friends and brethren; they carry arms for no other purpose than to annihilate tyranny: their sole aim is to restore that liberty which you cherish.

"From the commencement of the revolution, those who rule the aristocratical cantons of Switzerland have secretly aided the powers leagued against France; and they have not failed to assert, that we intended to subjugate Helvetia: but neither ambition nor avarice shall ever dishonour the steps I now take in the name of the republick.

"Friends to the generous descendants of William Tell, it is only to punish the criminal invasion of your rights that we now appear in arms among you. Banish from your minds all uneasiness relative to the political independence and integrity of your territories! The government of which I am the organ will guarantee these to you; its intentions shall be religiously seconded by my companions in arms. Be free—France invites, nature commands it; and to enjoy this precious advantage you have only to express the wish!"

Some unsuccessful attempts were now made to obtain a truce; but a body of the invaders having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, seized without any difficulty on that little fortress, while thirteen thousand summoned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Fribourg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune having advanced at the head of a column, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the garrison, headed by Verrer the avoyer,

who perished upon the occasion, took it by assault. Such, however, was the discipline still observed by the army, that no excess followed an event supposed to justify pillage: on the contrary, the people were invited to assemble and choose a provisional government, while the patricians cheerfully resigned the helm, happy at escaping from the rigours of confiscation and death.

As the troops of Berne retired, and those of France advanced towards the capital of the canton, mutiny and disaffection became prevalent in the former, while terror and dismay preceded the march of the latter. At length the magistrates, perceiving that the levy of the *landsthurm*, or peasantry, instead of meliorating, rendered their own situation more desperate, determined on abdicating employments which they had no prospect of maintaining; and the popular party, headed by Tiller and Bay, having obtained the superiority in the council, a provisional regency was nominated, and intelligence of this sudden revolution conveyed to the French general.

But as the troops still held out, and the defiles were in their power, Brune took the necessary measures to secure possession of the city. He accordingly sent a large detachment against and carried Guimene, a post defended by numerous batteries; while another column, under general Pigeon, forced the pass of Neveneck on the succeeding morning, after an engagement of five hours, during which both sides displayed prodigies of valour.

General D'Erlach, assisted by the avoyer Stelguer, who, notwithstanding his advanced age,

had repaired to the army, rallied his men in succession at Uteren and Grauholtz; but Schawembourg, after penetrating into the heart of the country, and defeating a body of the enemy on the heights of Altmerchirgen, having made a forced march on purpose to effect a junction with Brune, the latter appeared before Berne, which immediately opened its gates. The Swiss troops then retired under the cannon of the fortress of Arbourg, where they were again beaten; on which the soldiery suspecting treachery, massacred several of their officers, and among others the brave D'Erlach fell a sacrifice to their unjust suspicions*.

The French had now exacted a bloody retaliation for the insults offered to themselves, as well as the assistance afforded by the aristocracy of Berne to their enemies; and after displacing the ruling families, changing the nature of the government, and sending the most violent of their opponents into exile, it was to be hoped that, content with the treasures of the state and the military contributions exacted for the supply of the invading army, they would now retire. In that case no one would have lamented the fate of the patricians, who, forgetting the principles that had hitherto secured their own consequence as well as the tranquillity of the state, had departed

*General D'Erlach, whose family contributed to rescue Switzerland from the dominion of the house of Austria, displayed the most heroick courage during the whole of the contest with France. On being summoned by general Brune to deliver up Morat, where some of his progenitors had fallen in a battle that proved fatal to the invaders, he transmitted the following gallant and laconick reply: My ancestors never surrendered: and were I such a coward as to think of it, the bones of the Burgundians, now before my eyes, would preclude the possibility of such a humiliation."

from the prudent system of a rigorous neutrality, and incurred the just resentment of a great nation. The emancipation of the Vaudois from a cruel vassalage would at the same time have reflected honour on the arms of the invaders, and extorted the unwilling plaudits even of rival nations.

But the directory, actuated by a more selfish policy, had determined on the subjugation of Switzerland, and began already to calculate the immense advantages likely to be derived from its possession in case of the renewal of hostilities. It was accordingly resolved to change the form of the government from a federal into an united republick, which, by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be held in continual dependence.

The cantons of Berne, Zuric, Soleure, and Fribourg, intimidated by recent events, willingly acceded to the proposition; and, while they deemed themselves lucky to escape complete subjection on one hand, secretly rejoiced, no doubt, to think, on the other, that in consequence of their wealth and numbers they would still retain great influence in the general diet: but the smaller states of Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to the democratical system of government which had so long guaranteed their liberty as well as secured their happiness, and anticipating perhaps the superior consequence of their more wealthy co-estates, were not desirous of change. Instead, therefore, of sending deputies to the meeting assembled at Arau, their commissioners met at Brennen, and transmitted a memorial to the French general, in which they stated, "that there was only one single objection

in the government of their cantons, relative to which the republick, in conformity to her own principles, could desire a change: this has been obviated," added they, "and we no longer recognize any portion of the people as subjects; all are henceforth to enjoy equal franchises. A nation which, amidst its native mountains, possesses no other property than its flocks, religion, and liberty, solemnly promises every mark of attachment not incompatible with its independence. We are ready to enter into a sacred engagement never to take up arms against France, and we demand in return the maintenance of a constitution which recognizes for its basis the sovereignty of the people, and has conferred upon us ages of happiness."

Sentiments such as these could neither disarm the inflexible severity of the directory, nor meet even with the assent of such of the inhabitants of the greater cantons as had determined on a complete revolution throughout the whole of Switzerland. The latter having chosen a legislature, Arau was pitched upon as the scene of its deliberations; and one of the first operations that took place was the nomination of an executive, consisting of five members, who were to be intrusted with the government of the whole of Helvetia, the country of the Grisons alone excepted, the inhabitants having determined not to admit of any innovation whatsoever.

The democratical cantons refused however to send deputies to the new assembly, or to recognize its authority; and while the latter invoked the assistance of France to enforce obedience to its decrees, the former entered into a mutual league for the preservation of their ancient franchises.

Having assembled in arms, and appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne and menaced Zuric; but finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one grand national effort expel the invaders, they thought proper to retire to the fastnesses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug.

The French, commanded by general Schawenburg, immediately advanced in great force against them, and commenced an attack. The leader of the confederates perceiving that valour alone was unavailing against superior numbers, recurred to one of the stratagems of war, and by a feigned retreat, expressly calculated to punish the fiery character of the foe, enticed the assailants into an ambuscade, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued. What the aristocratical cantons, guided by a few interested families, had been unable to effect, was thus achieved by a hardy peasantry, accustomed to the enjoyment, and warmed with the love, of liberty. The career of the French was now for the first time stopped in Switzerland, in consequence of a bloody battle, during which several thousand of them perished: this was soon after followed by a treaty, in which, although it was agreed to accept of the new constitution as a bond of general union, yet an express stipulation was entered into, that the internal government of the smaller cantons should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from any contribution whatever.

This pacification, dictated partly from policy and partly from necessity, was neither agreeable to the French nor the Helvetick directory; and unfortunately a pretext was speedily afforded for

the renewal of hostilities, as Underwalden, exhibiting a fastidious perseverance, obstinately refused to accede to any conditions whatever.

On this the French marched a large body of troops, accompanied by artillery, into that canton; and after a terrible battle of two days duration, during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to muskets and bayonets, and fragments from the rock to a regular artillery, the hardy mountaineers were overcome, the town of Standtz taken by assault, the houses in its beautiful valley destroyed by fire, the inhabitants nearly exterminated, and neither age nor sex spared by a furious and implacable soldiery. After this all the Swiss subscribed to the new constitution. Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government, and an alliance offensive and defensive entered into between the Gallick and Helvetick republicks. But even that circumstance did not prevent the rapacity of the French directory, who still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions with the most unpardonable severity; and those once happy regions, instead of enjoying some consolation from the conciliating manners of their diplomatick agents, experienced a new subject of complaint in the insolent demeanour and haughty demands of those whom they had intrusted with their confidence*.

Thus, after enjoying the sweets of independence since the commencement of the fourteenth century, when the fortunate issue of a contest with Albert of Austria laid the foundation of their liberties, and also produced perhaps the revolutions in England, America, and France, the fede-

* Mengaud and Rapinat.

rate republicks of Switzerland were overcome by a foreign enemy, and obliged to change the form of their government. The pretext for their ruin originated in the notorious injustice of the canton of Berne to the little states subjected to its dominion; and this intolerable yoke, instead of being lightened, was increased during a war which had effected so many memorable changes. The magistrates, the chief of whom either perished in the field or sought refuge in the dominions of Austria, when it was too late endeavoured to obliterate their former wrongs by reluctant concessions: they were unable however to obtain the confidence of a people whom they had so long deceived, and by their fall, which ultimately involved that of their more virtuous allies, exhibited a flagrant proof of the policy of timely reforms and a liberal and enlightened system of government.

The possession of Switzerland by the French was an object of too much consequence to be readily submitted to by the allied powers. Measures were therefore adopted by the archduke Charles in conjunction with prince Suwarroff, at the head of a formidable army of Russian troops, to dispossess them of so advantageous a position; and Massena was, in consequence of these measures, defeated at the battle of Zuric on the 4th of June.

To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Austrians and Russians, the army of observation encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz had been ordered to take the field. General Muller, to whose charge it was confided, accordingly established his head-quarters at Manheim, and pushed his advanced guards as far as Heidelberg;

while Baraguy d'Hilliers, advancing with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, imposed a contribution upon Franckfort, passed the Main, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt.

No sooner did prince Charles learn that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions, and preparing to seize on the rich harvests of Germany, now left defenceless by his absence, than he sent forward a strong detachment, and having conferred the command on general Hotze, soon after recrossed the Rhine in person. Having detached general Stzarray to the relief of Phillipsburg, now bombarded by a column of the French army, the latter immediately retired on his approach; but not until after it had completed the main object of the expedition, which was intended to weaken the allies in Switzerland, and enable the commander there to display the superiority of his talents in the art of war.

While the Austrian chief was employed in repressing the late incursion of the foe, Massena, taking advantage of his absence, determined once more to obtain a decided superiority in Helvetia, into which a considerable body of Russians had now penetrated, before the arrival of Suwarroff rendered a defensive system once more necessary. Accordingly, after a number of evolutions which enabled him to approach the object of his attentions, he ordered Lecourbe, an officer admirably skilled in that species of warfare adapted for mountainous regions, to enter the valley of the Grisons, and turn the left wing of the allies commanded by general Hotze, who was now defending the cause of the cabinet of Vienna on the summits of his

native hills. He also detached general Lorges against the Russians encamped on the opposite side of the Limmat; two columns under the generals Mortier and Klein were at the same time directed to attack the centre, while Soult was to pass the Linth, and carry the advanced posts of the Austrians.

The success of this combined movement, on an immense line, stretching nearly from the country of the Grisons to the banks of the Rhine, was dubious; and it appeared probable that partial defeats and successes, or at most an incomplete victory, might have rendered the action indecisive, when the death of Hotze, whose talents and energy had hitherto animated the allies, at the commencement of the action, rendered success certain, although not facile.

While the left wing, which had acted under his command, was obliged to retreat in confusion, prince Korsakow being unable, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of his countrymen, to oppose the reiterated assaults of the French columns which now pressed upon him from every side, found it necessary to retreat to Schaffhausen, in consequence of which a body of his troops posted in Zuric was forced to surrender, in consequence of that city having been carried by assault.

The immediate result of this battle consisted in the immense slaughter of the enemy; the capture of five thousand prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, and fifteen standards, besides all the baggage and artillery of the Russians; their flight first to the banks of the Thur, and then across the Rhine: but the remoter effects proved infinitely more disastrous to the cause of the allies, and enabled the French once more to obtain

a manifest superiority on that central theatre, whence they could succour their armies in Italy, menace the Austrians on the side of their remote frontiers, and by keeping the war at a distance from the territory of the republick, insure its tranquillity and independence.

While Massena had thus reassumed the ascendency in Helvetia, Suwarroff, fully assured of the co-operation of the Austrians, and also certain, as he imagined, to find at Zuric a considerable body of Russians, had already crossed the plains of Piedmont, scaled and obtained possession of the heights of St. Gothard after defeating the troops posted there by general Lecourbe, and was now about to enter the canton of Ury, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the allies.

Foaming with rage on the receipt of this sinistrous intelligence, but still determined to persevere, the intrepid field-marshal had recourse to threats, and intimated to prince Kinskoy-Korsakow that he "was marching to repair his errors," and that "he should answer with his head if he made another retrograde step."

That unfortunate general, burning with desire to vindicate his character to so gallant a chief, immediately assembled the wreck of his troops, and having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Condé, and the Batavian contingent, he determined to attempt a diversion in favour of his commander, by reassuming his former position before Zuric, during the absence of Massena. But the latter, who had so lately dispelled the charm in consequence of which the Russians were supposed to be invincible, proved his superiority over his rivals, by following up and taking

advantage of his recent success. He accordingly detached a column towards Altorf, and strengthened Lecourbe's detachment, now disputing every inch of ground with the invaders in the neighbourhood of Glaris, and securing all the intermediate passes, so as to render a nearer approach not only uninviting, but even fatal.

The Russians, amidst incessant toils and continual combats, arrived in the valley of Mutten; and took possession of the bridge after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brunnen was also carried next day: but here ended the progress of the invaders; for Massena not only sent supplies to the detachment under general Lecourbe, but shut up the passage between the lakes of Wallenstadt and Zuric, and posted a body of troops in so judicious a manner in the neighbourhood of the ancient abbey of Einsidlen, that all further approach in the face of a superior army was interdicted.

Suwarroff, after thus penetrating into the little democratical canton of Schweitz, was at length so conscious of his critical situation, that he determined, for the first time in his life, to retreat. This was accordingly effected in a masterly manner; for although pursued by Lecourbe, and harassed by a column which had been posted for that purpose at Altorf, he succeeded in attaining his object by withdrawing his troops across a mountainous region into the country of the Grisons, with the loss of his wounded, his cannon, and his baggage.

No sooner had Massena ascertained that the haughty spirit of Suwarroff was prepared to submit to its fate, than, multiplying as usual his means by his celerity, he marched with his utmost speed against Korsakow, hitherto kept in

check by general Ferino, and having come up with the allies, immediately commenced a terrible attack. The right wing, partly unable to withstand the shock, and partly intimidated by the late events, immediately gave way; but the left, chiefly composed of the emigrants, stood firm, and being led on by the duke D'Enghien they displayed their wonted valour, and discovered that the French nobles when brought into the field were likely to prove the most formidable adversaries of the French republicans.

No sooner had the retreat of this portion of the army become inevitable, than the corps of Condé, always ready to assume the post of danger, now acted as the rear-guard; while Bauer, a Russian general who had formerly distinguished himself in Poland, burst through the French infantry with his cavalry, and rejoined his countrymen, after leaving Constance for the third time in the possession of the enemy.

The scale of fortune by this time visibly preponderated on the side of the republicans, who had become once more masters of Switzerland, retaken the St. Gothard, and begun to menace the country of the Grisons.

In the mean time Suwarroff, alike discontented with his allies and his colleagues, having assembled the scanty remains of his own troops at Coire, ordered the wreck of the army of Korsakow, and the corps of Condé to form a junction with him. After some delay, he proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter.

Of one hundred thousand men who had either left Russia with him but eight months before, or joined him within that period, scarcely forty thousand reached the banks of the Lech in the

neighbourhood of Augsburgh. After thus losing about sixty thousand of his best warriors, the veteran field-marshal, overwhelmed with grief, retired to his native country, where, being exposed at the same time to the frowns of fortune and the indignation of a capricious prince, he soon perished, either by poison or despair.

The treaties of Luneville and of Amiens, which gave the semblance of peace to Europe at the expense of a consolidation of the gigantick acquisitions of France and the establishment of her military chief, held out to the Helvetick confederacy a guarantee of her ancient freedom and independence. Such however is the present situation of the powers of Europe, that the faith of treaties is no longer a pledge of security to the weaker states against the power of the strong. When the hour of action arrives, pretences are never wanting to furnish a prologue to the tragedy of injustice and oppression. Unhappy Switzerland has lately furnished a melancholy interesting proof of this remark. Internal disputes, fomented perhaps for the very purpose of colouring the pretensions of a too-powerful neighbour, have been alleged as the ground of interference; and the First Consul of France has waved his iron sceptre over those mountains which so long echoed the loud shouts of Liberty, but where now not even the murmurs of remonstrance dare be whispered. At the moment of closing this history, this aggression of France, among other causes, has roused the indignant feelings of the British empire, and a new appeal to arms has been already sounded. It is impossible to conclude this history better than by copying verbatim the memorial of a deputy of the Swiss nation to Mr.

Merry, the plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty at Paris, on the 3d of October, 1802.

"So long as Switzerland was occupied by the "French army," says the memorialist, "the "wishes of the people could never be freely ma- "nifested. The petty revolutions which took "place in the government were the tricks of cer- "tain factions, in which the nation at large took "but a very trifling interest. Scarcely did Swit- "zerland think herself independent, when she was "desirous of returning to her ancient institu- "tions, rendered still dearer to her by her late "misfortunes, and the arbitrary acts of the go- "vernments furnished her with the means of "doing so. Almost the whole of Switzerland, "with unexampled unanimity and moderation, "shook off the yoke. The cantons formed them- "selves into constituent bodies; and twelve of "the thirteen cantons of Switzerland sent their "representatives to the diet of Schweitz, in "order there to organize a central power which "might be acceptable to the neighbouring powers. "The aristocratical cantons renounced their ex- "clusive rights; the Pays de Vaud was left at "liberty to form its own constitution, as well as "Thurgovia and the other new cantons. The "government having taken refuge at Lausanne, "was by no means secure there, notwithstanding "its regular troops; perhaps even at the present "moment it no longer exists. Who would not "have thought, according to the stipulation of the "treaty of Luneville, which grants independence "to Switzerland, and the right of choosing its "own government, every thing was settled, and "that this nation might see its former happiness "and tranquillity revive? Who could have thought

" that the First Consul would have issued such a " decree as that of the 8th Vendemaire? Is an " independent nation to be thus treated? Should " Bonaparte persist in his determination, and the " other powers should not interpose in our favour, " it only remains for us either to bury ourselves " in the ruin of our houses, although without " hope of resistance, exhausted as we are by the " Colossus who is about to overwhelm us, or to " debase ourselves in the eyes of the whole uni- " verse! Will the government of this generous " nation, which has at all times afforded so many " instances of the interest it takes in the welfare " of the Swiss, do nothing for us under circum- " stances which are to decide whether we are " still to be ranked amongst free people? We " have only men left us:—the revolution, and " spoliations without end have exhausted our " means: we are without arms, without ammu- " nition, without stores, and without money to " purchase them."

Such is the pathetick language of the Swiss themselves; such is the appeal of the most ancient sons of freedom, to the most fortunate; and while their fate cannot fail to excite in the bosom of Britons sentiments of commiseration for the oppressed, and of indignation for the oppressors, may it also be contemplated by them as an awful warning!

†††† For the narrative of the proceedings of the French in Switzerland, the Editor is indebted to Mr. Stephens's impartial and enlightened History of the Wars of the French Revolution, recently published.

GENEVA.

GENEVA is situated partly upon the sides and partly at the bottom of a hill, where the Rhone issues out of the lake in two deep, smooth, and rapid streams, which soon afterwards unite. That river divides the town into two unequal divisions, and after receiving the Arne in its course, flows into the Mediterranean.

The Allobroges, a powerful nation of Gauls, who possessed the greatest part of Savoy and the province of Dauphiné, were the inhabitants of Geneva at the period when Helvetia was conquered by the Romans. Julius Cæsar fortified this town, and rendered it of great service to him in his contests with the Helvetian tribes. At the general partition of the empire, Geneva became subject to the Burgundians, and after that to the Franks. Charlemagne collected his forces for the celebrated expedition against the Lombards in this city, and in consequence bestowed upon its inhabitants many valuable privileges. After the dismemberment of his vast empire, it became successively a part of the principality of Arles and of the new kingdom of Burgundy. It was united to the Germans under Conrad the Second, who was heir and successor to the last king of Burgundy, Rodolphus the Third; but taking advantage of their distance from the seat of govern-

ment, it threw off all dependence on the empire. The jealousy and opposing interests of the counts and the bishops who conjointly governed the city, proved favourable to the inhabitants of those who made the concession of new privileges the price of their support to either party. A third power, much more dangerous however to its liberties, arose in the counts of Savoy, who claimed the exclusive sovereignty of Geneva and its district. From this period these princes waged incessant wars against the town; but their hostile attempts were rendered ineffectual by the bravery of the citizens, assisted by the forces of the Helvetick confederacy. The last attempt of the house of Savoy against Geneva was in the year 1602, when Charles Emanuel, son of Philibert duke of Savoy, treacherously attacked the town during a profound peace. Under pretence of observing the motions of the French marshal de Lavardin, who had a command in these parts, he found means, without exciting the jealousy of the citizens, to station a body of about two thousand men near the gates of Geneva; and the necessary implements for an escalade having been procured, the night between the 11th and 12th of December was fixed upon for scaling and reducing the town by surprise. The scaling-ladders had been painted black, to prevent their being seen in the dark; and the rollers were covered with cloth, to prevent all noise on moving them. The command of the enterprise was given to the sieur d'Albigny, by whom it had been originally planned; and the duke, confident of success, came in person over the mountains, but passed under an assumed name. At the appointed time the troops advanced, and the party destined for the escalade was commanded by Bra-

naulieu. Father Alexander, a Scottish jesuit, confessed the men at the foot of the ladder, and encouraged them by promises of temporal and eternal rewards. Precisely one hour after midnight they ascended: two hundred reached the top of the rampart unobserved: and laid themselves down flat, waiting for the hour of four, when the general assault was to be given. In the streets all was profound tranquillity till the hour of two, when a sentry stationed at the tower of the Mint, upon hearing a noise in the ditch, fired his musket. Brunaulieu, finding himself discovered, made a premature attack; the inhabitants were alarmed and flew to arms, and after sustaining a most desperate assault, at length succeeded in driving away the assailants, who lost two hundred men in this unsuccessful and treacherous attack. Thirteen of the Savoyards who were taken on the rampart were immediately hanged in the city, as thieves and assassins.

D'Albigny, who had planned this disgraceful enterprise, instantly withdrew his troops, and hastened towards Bonne, where the duke his master had waited to hear the issue of the attempt. He sent the count of Tournon to Berne, to extenuate the offence; but he was ordered to quit the canton without delay, lest he should be insulted by the enraged multitude. The neighbouring states, particularly the cantons and the king of France, used their endeavours to bring about an accommodation. The neutral cantons were called upon to draw up the treaty, which at length restored commerce and free intercourse between Savoy and Geneva; and by which the duke stipulated, that he would raise no fortifications, nor station any troops within sixteen miles of the city. From

this epoch an uninterrupted peace was maintained between the two states. The reformed religion was introduced into Geneva in the year 1553, by William Farrell, a native of Gap in Dauphiné; but its final establishment was effected by John Calvin. This celebrated person was born at Noion, in 1509; and being driven from France as a protestant, he arrived at Geneva in 1536. Farrell recommended Calvin as a proper person to complete what he had begun; and he accordingly drew up a body of ecclesiastical service, at the request of the citizens. A party of Catholicks and others, offended with the severity of his manners, created an opposition to his progress, and even procured his banishment. The new sectarians found it necessary however to recal him, and not only employed him in the reform of religion but in the civil affairs of their state, where the opinions of Calvin on all subjects were ever after adopted as the standard of orthodoxy. He died at Geneva, in the year 1564, having rendered that city not only the centre of the reformed religion, but the asylum of the sciences, in the establishment of its celebrated college, the perpetual presidency of which he obtained for his friend and fellow-labourer Theodore Beza, and from which have issued many men illustrious in the annals of philosophy and literature.

From the period of the peace with the house of Savoy, the History of Geneva exhibits little more than a narrative of contentions between the aristocratical and popular parties.

On the 1st of September, 1779, the first part of a code of criminal law code was submitted to the consideration of the Little and the Great Councils for their revision, previously to its being presented

to the General Council. As many articles contained in it were considered by one party as being too democratical, the senate proposed that the committee should be prorogued, for the purpose of amending the code. The other party opposed this resolution; and possessing a majority in the Great Council, they decided that the code should be rejected, and that the committee should be dissolved. The greatest commotion was the consequence of these disputes, which involved all parties in the bitterest strife. The count de Vergennes, then minister of France, ostensibly interfered in favour of the aristocratick party; but his influence was powerfully counteracted by the attorney-general of Geneva. A third party in Geneva, at this time, consisted of the *natives*, that is, a class of men, who, being the sons of foreigners born in the city, were entitled to no political rights whatever.

On the 5th of February, 1781, some trifling dispute happened to take place between the neighbouring natives who belonged to opposite parties. Blows ensued; and the populace who assembled were beginning to evince a disposition to tumult, when the syndicks appeared. Their presence seemed to have quelled the riot, when suddenly a discharge of musketry was heard: two natives of the popular party were killed, and several wounded. The latter now flew to arms, and paraded the streets. The next morning a committee of the popular party held a conference with the principal of the aristocratick party, on the subject of granting additional privileges to the natives, and gratuitously conferring the burghership. They were unsuccessful; for the other party, though willing to comply with the request of the natives respecting commercial privileges, were resolute

in resisting their claim to the burghership. The contest now became violent, and the popular party assumed the power, granting the burghership to one hundred and fifty individuals taken from the natives and peasants. This edict was presented to the three councils, who approved it, and by this means the popular party secured the interest of the majority of the natives. When, however, the question for enforcing the edict was laid before the senate, it was repeatedly objected to, under the pretence that the Swiss cantons declared it to be illegal, as Geneva was in the power of an armed populace when it was drawn up. Enraged at this proceeding, the popular party presented a remonstrance on the 18th of March, 1782, in which they required the magistrates to confirm the edict: but after a month's delay an answer was returned, positively refusing their demands; and concluding by saying, "*That government are neither able nor willing to ratify the edict.*" This answer reached the ears of the natives, who, filled with the greatest indignation, assembled together and threatened the utmost vengeance. In vain the most prudent of the citizens entreated the mob to retire: they were wantonly insulted; and as a party in attempting to secure one of the gates had fired on the garrison who resisted, it became necessary for the citizens to abandon the natives or join them in the revolt. They adopted the latter measure, made themselves masters of the town, arrested and imprisoned several of the magistrates, and thus appeased the tumult. Several members of the councils were now deposed, and new ones elected who were favourable to the popular cause. The great council, thus new-modelled, immediately passed the edict, and appointed a committee of safety, composed

of eleven members. This committee restored tranquillity to the city, gave orders for repairing the fortifications, and inspired the people with the highest notions of their own strength.

The cantons of Zuric and Berne interdicted all communication with Geneva until the former government was restored; and the count de Vergennes informed the insurgents of a similar determination on the part of the French king.

Notwithstanding this situation of their affairs, deserted by the Swiss and menaced by the powerful court of France, the Genevans still treated with contempt all overtures of accommodation. The period however at length arrived which terminated this self-created government. The king of Sardinia and the canton of Berne sent forces to co-operate with those of the king of France, which now appeared before Geneva under the command of M. de la Jaucort. The magistrates of Berne, anxious to prevent the interference of foreign powers in the affairs of Switzerland, sent dispatches to the syndicks, exhorting them to exert their endeavours with their fellow-citizens to compose their unhappy differences, which tended infallibly to the destruction of the republick of Geneva. All advice, all overtures of compromise, were vain: the citizens employed themselves in repairing the ramparts, and even women flocked to the walls, encouraging the men and animating them by their presence, and even assisting them by carrying burdens and planting cannon. In the mean time, the combined troops advanced on both sides, and a general plan of attack was formed by the three besieging generals. On the 29th June, however, previously to the attack, the following conditions were proposed to the syn-

dicks by the French commander:—1. That all the chiefs of the popular party should, in twenty-four hours, depart from Geneva. 2. That the inhabitants should deliver up their arms to the three generals. 3. That the magistrates and other officers who were deposed should be immediately re-established. 4. That they should submit to any regulations which the three powers might think proper to impose upon them. To these humiliating propositions an answer was demanded, to be delivered within the space of four hours. The leaders of the popular party, desirous of sparing an unavailing effusion of blood, would instantly have yielded to any terms compatible with the honour of the republick; but the conditions offered were so degrading, that they resolved to meet death under their walls rather than submit to them. A delay of twenty-four hours was privately obtained from the besiegers by the syndicks; in which time an immense crowd of old men, women, and even children, collected together, tore up the stones from the streets, and carried them to the tops of the houses, in order to hurl them upon the besiegers, in case of their entrance into the town. Such was the general enthusiasm, that one hundred young women, dressed in the military uniform of Geneva, came forward to defend their country: their services were accepted, and they were stationed in a barrack, sheltered by its frontier from the enemy's fire. The heroines, however, scorning their post as not sufficiently exposed to danger, rushed forwards to the foremost stations in the ramparts. Yet all this heroism, and all the efforts of the patriots, proved in the sequel useless. The citizens themselves were so greatly divided in their opinions, that when the

crisis of their affairs arrived, no plan of conduct that was proposed met their unanimous approval. In consequence of this want of concert, and after much deliberation, the chiefs of that party which wished to save the people and the town from the horrors of an assault, succeeded in gaining over a majority to their sentiments, by proposing a general emigration, to seek that liberty in another country which they could no longer enjoy in their own. A general retreat took place; the ramparts were cleared of their defenders; the roads were covered with men, women, and children, flying to their houses; and when the three generals entered the city they found it a melancholy picture of desertion.

The aristocratick party that now returned with the military powers, immediately proceeded to establish a new constitution. Those inhabitants who emigrated established themselves in different towns of Switzerland, at Brussels, Strasburgh, and Constance: and a plan for establishing a colony of these emigrants in Ireland was nearly matured, under the sanction of the British government; lands were bought for that purpose, and funds were raised for its support, when the whole scheme was suddenly abandoned.

The chief cause of the Genevans relinquishing the project of settling in Ireland was the indulgence of new hopes of a free government being established at Geneva. The impolicy of the combined powers had established a government which was equally odious to the aristocratick and democratick party. Had they restored the city to its former independence, instead of annihilating their ancient privileges and rights, both parties would probably have soon

been reconciled, and, shocked at the consequences of their former civil broils, would have been led to acknowledge the happiness of a constitution equally free from the tyranny of aristocracy and the licentiousness of democracy.

In the year 1791 the magistrates made further concessions in favour of the popular party, and extended their privileges, allowing to every native the freedom of the city at the small price of six guineas. This conduct, which it was hoped would have removed all discontent, had an opposite effect, and seemed only to raise the tone of the popular party, from the idea it gave them of their own power, which could extort such terms, and emboldened them to demand other privileges with an air of authority. A private application was made at the same time to the Brissotin party then in power at Paris, requesting the assistance of the French in the establishment of what they termed the just principles of liberty. In consequence of their solicitation, general Montesquieu advanced to Geneva.

Deputies from the Great and Little Councils were immediately dispatched to inquire into the reasons of his conduct. The answer of the general was, that the French republick had been insulted by the Genevans calling in the troops of Switzerland as soon as the French forces had entered Sardinia; which circumstance, he added, plainly evinced that the aristocratick party at Geneva were inclined to favour the enemies of France. After some time spent in fruitless negociation, the magistrates, perceiving themselves incapable of defending the ancient constitution, passed a decree in favour of equal rights, with only some slight restrictions. The popular party,

however, would not accept that as a favour which they demanded as a right; and therefore, on the 30th of November, they appeared in arms, and insisted that every department of the government should be filled by individuals of their own party. The syndick of the guard, Micheli Ducrest, being ordered by the magistrates to beat to arms, not only refused to obey their orders, but delivered the keys of the park of artillery into the hands of the insurgents. On the first of December they made themselves masters of Geneva, assumed the red cap, and chanted the songs of liberty, and in their forms and proceedings adopted the language and manners of the French revolutionists. The members of the former government voluntarily resigned their functions, and liberty and equality was proclaimed. Provisional committees, called the committees of safety and administration, were formed, which were confirmed by an assembly composed of the old and newly-admitted citizens. On the 25th of February, 1793, a convention similar to that of France was formed, consisting of one hundred and twenty members. The first acts of this convention were to abolish the great council, and to transfer nearly all the power of the little council to the general assembly. This constitution, faulty as it was, was accepted by the people at large, and was even acknowledged by the Swiss cantons. Order and harmony were by these means in a great measure restored, when the publick tranquillity was again disturbed by the visionary doctrines propagated by the circle of equality, which still held its meetings, and still persevered in their delusive metaphysical scheme, of the general equality of rights. The principal members of this club were

now citizens Gesnet and the abbé Soulavie, who had acted as their deputies in their correspondence with the Brissotin party at Paris, and an advocate, of the name of Bousquet. An assessment upon property being in agitation by the magistrates, the circle of equality seized this opportunity of spreading the report, that the proposed assessment was to be laid principally upon the poor, while the rich were to be almost wholly exempted; and at the same time suggested the necessity of the people taking the goverment into their own hands.

In the night of the 18th of July, Bousquet and Gesnet announced to the assembly that a conspiracy was planned against the people by the aristocrats. Upon this denunciation the most furious of the patriots ran to arms, to crush the conspiracy and to punish the traitors; while the more moderate contended, that the sovereign assembly should not be disturbed by such alarms. While, however, the president was putting the question, about twenty of the most violent of the members, headed by Bousquet, ran out of the hall, calling upon the people to take up arms. Being joined by vast numbers of the lowest of the people, they seized the artillery, plundered the houses of the citizens, and disarmed such as they thought hostile to their views.

From this movement all the miseries and horrors of a revolutionary state commenced. The rich were torn from their houses and thrown into dungeons, where upwards of six hundred of the principal inhabitants of the city were crowded together, among whom were most of the magistrates who had been deposed in 1792. A revolutionary tribunal was erected, of which Bousquet was elected president, and which held its

sittings in one of the halls of the Hotel de Ville. The first seven prisoners who were brought before this tribunal were M. Decombres, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Geneva; M. Cayla, the ex-syndick; M. Prevost, the procurator-general; M. Derochment, counsellor; and three watch-makers. M. Decombres and the three latter were condemned by the tribunal, and the other three were acquitted; but as they were members of patrician families, and held the first places in the state, the assembly of the revolutionists, intoxicated by the wine that had been plentifully distributed on the occasion, imagined that their acquittal was sufficient proof of a plot to save the aristocrats, who, in the opinion of these poor deluded wretches, all merited the punishment of death. While the moderate among them were endeavouring to persuade them to the contrary, the enraged part of them ran from the assembly to the prison, and, seizing the seven victims, brought them to the fatal ground. A square battalion was formed, and these seven victims of the worst of tyrannies were instantly shot.

The next step of these revolutionists was to lower the rate of interest of money, and to annul all leases. In addition to these atrocities, all the most sacred rites of religion were converted into ridicule, and the most horrible blasphemies were publicly dispersed.

The revolutionary tribunal, not satisfied with the blood which had already flowed, ordered three more prisoners to be brought before them; Fatio, ex-syndick; Naville Gallatin, ex-procurator; and Andead, a banker. The eloquence of Gallatin shook the firmness even of his sanguinary judges; but Bousquet, with determinate cruelty, defeated

the intentions of the more merciful, by causing Gallatin and Fatio to be shot in the dead of night privately, on a remote part of the ramparts.

The judges of this horrid court sat fourteen days, during which time five hundred and three persons were tried, of which number thirty-seven were condemned; but only eleven suffered death, the other twenty-six having found means to escape. One hundred were sentenced to be banished; three hundred to be imprisoned, some for life and others for various periods; and the remainder obtained their liberty.

The sanguinary spirit of Bousquet and his associates, which continued providentially for a short time, was succeeded by a milder system. The friends of the revolution of 1792 were too much the friends of their country to consent to its incorporation with France; they therefore joined the new revolutionists, and at length obtained an ascendency. Their first attempt was to deprive the French agent of his influence; and the overthrow of Robespierre, whose creature he was, favoured their design. After the death of that execrable tyrant, the French government recalled this agent, and accompanied his recal with unequivocal marks of their disapprobation. The successors of Robespierre entirely disavowed his conduct at Geneva; and the convention gave a full and solemn acknowledgment of the independence of Geneva, and granted to its minister the same honours that had been granted to the minister of the United States of America.

On the 7th of September the French convention solemnly declared that they would take no step which could in the least affect the independence of Geneva. The moderate party, therefore,

that obtained the government of that republick, turned their thoughts to the best practicable methods of healing these wounds which the late enormities had occasioned; and justice succeeded for a time to the reign of oppression and terror.

In this year the government of Geneva enjoined M. Reybaz, their ambassador at Paris, to request the guarantee of the independence of their republick, in case of any peace between the French and the king of Sardinia, or the German empire. The conduct of the French directory, on this occasion, clearly evinced their determination to annex Geneva to the republick as a department; and the remonstrances of the government of Geneva, breathing a spirit of freedom, declared the resolution of the Genevans to emigrate from their native soil rather than submit to an incorporation of their government with that of France. A. D. 1795.

For a time the idea of annexing Geneva to France seemed to be abandoned by the French; it was however in fact only deferred to a more favourable opportunity, and such a conjuncture occurred in the invasion of Switzerland. The intercourse which had taken place between France and Geneva from the date of the conquest of Savoy had given a considerable ascendency to French principles of government. Though the mass of the Genevans remained attached to the idea of territorial independence, a considerable number of them began to look with indifference on the forms by which they held their liberties; whether as part of the sovereign people of Geneva, or a portion of the sovereign and more powerful people of the French republick. The agents of the French government had fostered this fraternising spirit, and had made considerable progress

in proselytism, by representing the benefits which would accrue from a more intimate alliance between the two nations. Whatever influence these representations might have had, the partizans of territorial independence remained strenuous in rejecting the proffered fraternity. The partizans for the incorporation, however, formed a vast majority. Of three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven votes, two thousand two hundred and four gave their suffrage for the union; and Geneva was accordingly declared by the supreme council to be incorporated with the French republick on the 27th April, 1798. The treaty of union was ratified on the 17th of May by the French government. The city of Geneva was soon after formed into the capital of a department, under the affectedly classical name of the Department of the Lake of Lemarnus.

Notwithstanding their present humiliated situation, the Genevans are still the votaries of freedom; and if ever an opportunity of recovering this blessing should again present itself, there is every reason to believe that they would still shed their blood to procure it. For however various has been their success, and however shaded by party-spirit their conduct, in the different revolutions which have agitated this secluded state, the Genevans have uniformly evinced a courage which awed their enemies, and a determined bravery in defence of their rights, which, in showing that they prized them highly, gave proof that they were worthy to enjoy them *.

* For the most recent statistical account of Geneva, see the Monthly Magazine for December, 1802.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH VOLUME, OR THE NINTH OF THE MODERN PART